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QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]

No 8, 16 April 1989

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QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]

No 8, 16 April 1989

The Spirit of the May 4th Movement and China's Modernization

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['Excerpts' of Speeches at Discussion Meeting Marking 70th Anniversary of the May 4th Movement—First Paragraph Is QIUSHI introduction]

[Text] At a time when the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement is being observed, old, middle-aged, and young theory workers have together attended a discussion meeting to mark the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement held jointly by the office of the QIUSHI magazine, the office of the ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, the Capital's Iron and Steel Company, the Research and Development Company, and the Institute of Chinese Culture. Excerpts of speeches are given as follows:

Taking a Look at the "May 4th" 70 Years After the "May 4th"

Zhou Gucheng (of the NPC Standing Committee): I did participate in the May 4th Movement. But I did so not as a core figure calling the shots but as a member of the mass waving flags and drumming up support. The young people in the "May 4th" did three important things: Boycotting the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty; rejecting Japanese goods; and promoting democracy and science. Of these, raising high the banner of democracy was the most important. But during the era of the May 4th Movement, there was no emphasis on the the core problem in modernization—industrial revolution. Therefore, all society had not a hotbed of thriving science and technology and democratic development. Britain got involved with industrial revolution in the middle of the 18th century. China's industrial revolution started in the second half of the 19th century. Zeng Guofan's establishment of an arms depot could be described as the beginning of China's industrial revolution. But there was no success. Later, Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao and also Mr Sun Yat-sen all put forward ideas about the carrying out of industrial revolution. The pity was that reactionary forces were too powerful. So everything failed. The May 4th Movement did not stress this point. This was its defect. After the Communist Party of China led the people and democratic parties and groups to overthrow the three big mountains, it got busy handling such problems as grain, cotton, and so forth. It did also get involved with industrialization. But it did not pay enough attention to industrial revolution. Only at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1978 did the Communist Party of China resolve to shift the focus of work from class struggle to economic construction calling for reform and openness. This is every inch a policy of industrial revolution. Our

country has a vast area rich in resources and a large population. If we give full play to our superior features and actively bring in advanced science and technology and capital from abroad, there is a great future for China's modernization.

Luo Rongqu (of the Department of History of the Beijing University): It has been 70 years since the May 4th Movement. The task of "democracy and science" put forward at that time has still not been accomplished. Why? I think that we should have a renewed understanding of the May 4th Movement and give more time to studying it in depth and breadth, really uncovering its unique historical background and fundamental features.

As a cultural movement or a cultural revolution movement in a broad sense, the May 4th Movement was not a product of contradictions but a complication of triple crises. First, it was a national crisis politically. Second, it was a confidence crisis ideologically, with the national crisis giving rise to thorough doubts about and resolute negation of traditional national culture. Third, the May 4th Movement coincided with a world ideological crisis, with World War I giving rise to western doubts about the future of capitalism. The mix of these triple crises and triple contradictions led to the outbreak of the May 4th Movement and determined the features of this movement.

As a patriotic movement, it was strongly anti-imperialist. But western culture was imported at the same time on a large scale. During the period of the May 4th Movement, thinkers promoting enlightenment chiefly borrowed western ideological weapons to criticize China's traditional ideas. But the complicated part of the problem was: The gunfire of World War I had given people a shock. The idea of a global criticism of capitalism had appeared. This had an inevitable effect on China's intellectuals.

As a new cultural movement, the May 4th Movement was thoroughly antitradition. Advanced thinkers during the period of the May 4th Movement energetically tried to criticize and do away with China's old ideas and hackneyed traditions and to absorb new ideas. But China's traditional culture was deep-rooted. No thorough antitradition cultural movement could succeed. When the Chinese were busy introducing western culture, there was also a crisis in the West. Even Russell, Dewey, and other western academics of distinction had praise for Chinese culture. Therefore, China's diehards and advocates of Chinese culture took the opportunity to affirm China's traditional culture. Given this situation, a thorough antitradition effort could hardly succeed. Negation was impossible by just relying on writings.

As a cultural movement, the May 4th Movement should be of the gentle type. But it was actually of the stormy type. The new cultural movement got involved with real-life political struggle at too early a stage. Therefore, the ideological enlightenment movement itself was not

conducted in a penetrating and thorough manner. After the May 4th Movement, the then pace-setters scrambled to engage in political activities. They were mostly greenhorns when it came to matters of politics. As far as the cultural debate itself was concerned, there was also a lack of the spirit of democracy and science. All ideological accuracies and fallacies were equated with political accuracies and fallacies. Such a trend later became increasingly serious. Complicated cultural ideas were even put in simplified terms with the use of a political attitude. Cultural disputes were attributed to different "battlefronts." The least thing done was treated as a matter between enemies and friends or allies. Since the "May 4th," there had been no distinction between academic culture and politics. The atmosphere was often rendered very tense. Everyone found it very difficult to reconcile himself peacefully to the discussion of cultural problems.

Historical conditions in which the May 4th Movement was placed were rarely seen in the history of modernization in the world's various countries. Those countries that started being modernized in the second half of the 19th century had not run into the above complicated situation. Only China's May 4th Movement witnessed not only a turning point in its own nation but also a turning point in the world's civilization. This peculiar historical background determined the features of the May 4th Movement.

Shang Xiaoyuan (of the Economics Department of the Chinese People's University): An important aspect of the activity to mark the May 4th Movement calls for understanding the role of the then socio-economic conditions in the outbreak of the May 4th Movement, and, at the same time, paying attention to the stimulating effect of the May 4th Movement on China's capitalist economic development. In the past, people overlooked this aspect. The time the May 4th Movement broke out was not the most critical period in the Chinese nation. It was instead the period of rapid development of China's capitalist economy. At that time, the urban economy and the commodity economy developed quickly, fostering people's sense of modernization. Therefore, it was no incident that the May 4th Movement later developed into a June 3 Movement, with the participation of the working class and the bourgeoisie. It shows that the urban economy and the commodity economy were the basis of democracy and science.

Think Back On the Historical Process of the "May 4th" Since China's Modernization

He Xin (of the Institute of Literature under the Academy of Social Sciences of China): The greatness of the "May 4th," the greatness of the "May 4th," lies in China's contemporary history in the whole of the 20th century being seemingly enveloped in the spirit of the "May 4th" in this way or that. The Chinese have for several successive generations been compelled to return to a further interpretation of the spirit of the "May 4th" to solve the problems of the era confronting them. One of

the most fundamental points is that the basic aim that the "May 4th" was after was the modernization of China. But we have so far been a long distance away from this goal. Seventy years have since passed. Why should have China still failed to shorten this distance? This is a thought-provoking problem. Of the legacies left by the enlightenment-related thinkers of the 18th and 19th centuries (including the advocates of enlightenment in the period of the May 4th Movement), a kind of theory is the idea of linear or straight-line evolution. Based on such a theory, we are likely to lapse into an optimistic assumption in considering social development, economic progress and scientific and cultural development. In fact, as far as the whole situation is concerned, in the first half of the 21st century, given such factors as a global energy crisis, a population crisis, a shortage of resources and also the competition for markets on the part of new and old industrialized countries and the contradictions between poor and developed countries, the world situation can hardly be described as favorable to China's cause of modernization. Against this, China should be prepared at an early date.

Ten years of reform have stimulated China's development in depth and breadth as never witnessed before. But most serious social problems have also been exposed and generated in an unprecedented way. At present, China is at a crucial turning point. An important historical choice is: If China's reform and cause of modernization should fail, a situation of upheaval is likely to appear in China in the first half of the 21st century.

As far as realistic factors restraining China's cause of modernization in the economic, political and social fields are concerned, they may be summed up as follows:

1. Concerning policy guiding China's modernization, modernization has all along been treated as an economic problem. It has not been realized that as far as western and Japanese historical experiences of modernization are concerned, the starting point of modernization is first a major change effected in social consciousness, social and political systems, the legal system, relations of rights, the sense of values and people's behavior. Industrial revolution and an economic takeoff are a product, and not a cause, of the above change. In fact, for an economic and technical takeoff in China, there are now still lacking certain necessary and prerequisite conditions in regard to the social system, law, government policy and a cultural environment. Therefore, development has in recent years been oriented toward economic factors in the process of modernization, while reform and construction are neglected in regard to those ultra-economic factors in the process of modernization.

2. What is the most important driving force behind social modernization? Many people consider that it is "entrepreneurs" (chiefly referring to businessmen). But on the other hand, it should be noted that as far as historical experiences of the world are concerned, the

main driving force behind western and Japanese modernization chiefly comes from three aspects: a) a political spirit calling for social reform; b) intellectuals drawing up reform plans, mobilizing the people, and disseminating new values; c) active entrepreneurs under the guidance of good policy and scientific spirit. Of these three factors, the intellectual elite plays a special role. Given the neglect of the leading role of intellectuals in designing and stimulating reforms and even a sharp decline in their social and economic position due to policy-related negligence, then any positive social progress or reform is impossible.

3. The fundamental mark of western modernization is a change in individual form of behavior and the emancipation of the spirit of individual initiative to create things. China's reform in recent years seems to have paid not adequate attention to this point. For example, some enterprise reform programs have actually led to a serious conflict between the interests of managers and producers, or a disguised form of "control, strangling and suppression." The result can only be a restriction and suppression of workers' creativity. Any positive social campaign can hardly succeed without the conscious support of the majority.

4. Dominant consciousness of China's elite in the political field is so far still impregnated with heavy bureaucratic political consciousness. Its manifestation is: obsession with power and the omnipotence of policy, and maintenance of privileges and ranks—giving rise to the concept of omnipotence of power and worship of bureaucratism. Some intellectuals' so-called passion for politics is attributable to this.

5. On the one hand, investment in education is seriously neglected. On the other hand, the fact is especially overlooked that China's modern education programs involve in many cases contents, methods and systems that are not modern and extremely hackneyed and backward. This form of education keeps producing not modern intellectuals. The not modern nature of intellectuals' concept and behavior is one of the causes of the lack of a scientific guiding spirit in China's modernization.

6. There is the neglect of a positive direction for cultural construction, so that the social sense of values has developed in an abnormal way with the lack of a sense of shame. Relations between people have disintegrated. Individual behavior is limited to a chaotic state, with the absence of rule.

Huo Wancheng (of the Department of History of the Chinese People's University): After the "May 4th," China's history entered the contemporary period. I think that China's history of modernization should be further understood and pondered, given a macroeconomic view of the world's modernization.

So-called world modernization means global evolution from agricultural civilization to industrial civilization. The road or pattern of capitalist modernization chiefly relies on spontaneous market forces in the deployment of resources. This leads to a big gap between the poor and the rich. When famine comes, or when productive forces are at a low level with supply falling short of demand, to avoid trouble arising from the desperate state of the masses of people, the bourgeoisie has to rely on the state's strength to limit market functions. During the period of dictatorship of France's (?ya ge bin [7161 0677 6333]), an order on maximum price limits was carried out. The socialist road or pattern calls for nothing but putting on a theoretical, systematic and organized basis methods of deploying resources temporarily or locally used by capitalism along administrative lines. This historical choice fell upon China, chiefly because the starting point of its productive forces was very low. Some people had also drawn the conclusion after a study of China's modern economic history: By sole reliance on market regulation to deploy resources, China in the early part of the current century would have at least one-third of its people struggling on the verge of starvation. Therefore, the socialist road was chosen to carry out modernization. As far as China is concerned, this has its highly inevitable, rational and human aspects.

But there are two great strategic difficulties in using the socialist pattern to carry out modernization. One is that the traditional system of public ownership does not mix with the commodity economy. The uncontrollable system-related inflation of today is a manifestation of this contradiction. Another difficulty is that the pluralized commodity economy clashes with the unified political system. The commodity economy leads to the pluralization of interests. This inevitably causes the pluralization of social power. When economic forces can influence the publication of newspapers, magazines and books and the shooting of move films and even the establishment of research institutes, economic power has actually begun to be transformed into political power. Such power is beginning to gradually move from the top of the pyramid to the base, with the appearance of the trend toward the spread of pluralization. But at this time, the political system still safeguards the traditional unified pattern. This is a severe structural conflict. Commercial society would confront centralized interests represented by the traditional political system with plural economic interests. With economic development, there would also appear more tough means of power demanding the implementation of plural desires in the economic field. How can we bypass the multiple dangerous reefs in the peaks and depressions of the commodity economy and solve such a structural crisis. This is a serious problem confronting us.

Luo Rongqu: I believe that there are great differences between China's modernization and western modernization. Before capitalism, both Eastern and Western societies were agricultural societies. But agricultural societies are not confined to just one pattern. There are obvious

differences between them. In the process of a transition to modern society, the West's feudal agricultural society developed along the road to the urban economy economically, and made a transition to democratic politics politically. There was a gradual separation of the economy and politics. This made things easy. On the other hand, the East's agricultural society was a unified central despotic government, with politics dominating the economy. In its transition to modern society, the commodity economy was in a very undeveloped state. The development of the commodity economy still relied on political means for a solution. This meant the necessity and rationality of the practice of centralization. But it also showed that a backward way was used to establish an advanced society. It is very difficult to solve such a contradiction. At present, we have still not found a way to solve the problem.

The May 4th Movement and Marxism

Peng Ming (of the Department of Party History of the Chinese People's University): What is the "May 4th" spirit? There are various views. Some people say that it represents democracy and science. (This was what was said during the enlightenment movement.) Some said that it is patriotism (as far as the patriotic movement is concerned). Some say that it is the dissemination and practice of Marxism in China. (This was what was said at the second stage of the enlightenment movement.) I feel that these views are all correct. But what is the spirit that permeated through the whole process of the May 4th Movement, or that sums up all the above three views? I think it is the spirit of rationality. Some people describe the May 4th Movement as an emotionally inspired irrational movement, equating it with the Yihetuan Movement and the "Great Cultural Revolution." This is incompatible with the historical fact of the "May 4th."

The new cultural movement (the enlightenment movement)—started before the "May 4th"—followed "French civilization" as an example. Commenting on France's enlightenment movement, Engels had high praise for its rational spirit. XIN QINGNIAN [NEW YOUTH] raised the two big banners of democracy and science declaring war on feudalism and ignorance. It laid unusually great emphasis on "subjective rationality." All that was incompatible with rationality, "is not worth a cent, though left behind by ancestors, taught with emphasis by sages, promoted by the government, or held in respect by society."

At the second stage of the new cultural movement, the enlightenment movement showed great development. Apart from what was originally "new," there was still "newer" content, with the dissemination of Marxism gradually becoming the mainstream. According to Engels' version, modern socialism is the "further" and "more thorough development" of the various principles of the enlightenment movement. Existing writers on the "May 4th" have set Marxism entirely against the enlightenment movement, even excluding Marxism from the

"May 4th." This is quite unfair. Disseminated during the period of the "May 4th," Marxism occupied an important position in the history of China's political and ideological thinking. It enabled the Chinese people to raise their understanding of imperialism to a rational stage and to link their destiny to that of the people of the world for a study. It enabled China's intellectual circles and the pace-setters in China's revolution to begin attaching importance to the great strength of the worker-peasant masses. It ended up gradually taking the place of bourgeois culture to become the mainstream in the new cultural movement. China's old democratic culture was enabled to develop into new democratic culture.

It cannot be denied that the youths of the "May 4th" were oriented toward formalism. What was good was absolutely good. Everything was good. What was bad was absolutely bad. Everything was bad. Everything "Chinese" in nature was to be overthrown. Everything "western" in nature was to be supported. Subsequent days witnessed serious development—development in the rightist direction, or development in the "Leftist" direction. Marxism-Leninism was dogmatized. For example, some dogmatists also entirely separated Marxism-Leninism from the capitalist idea of enlightenment, criticizing the latter as reactionary thinking. This entirely ran counter to the national conditions of China. Dogmatism quickly caused the Chinese revolution to suffer serious setbacks. But after a long period of tempering—practice, knowledge, practice again and knowledge again—Marxism-Leninism was again integrated with China's realities, enabling the Chinese people to complete the militant course of the new democratic revolution.

A major social change always calls for the guidance of a kind of enlightening thinking. The more lively the rational spirit the more widespread and penetrating the change, and thus the less the resistance and setbacks. The rational spirit during the period of the May 4th Movement led to the great victory of the new democratic revolution, as scored by the Chinese people. Today there is still the need for us to promote such spirit, so that the socialist system and socialist spiritual civilization can show increasing perfection.

Gong Yuzhi (of the CPC Central Propaganda Department): I want to say something on the spirit of the May 4th Movement and the problem of opening up to the outside and letting 100 schools of thought contend. Letting 100 schools of thought contend originally referred to what happened in the Spring and Autumn Period and the Period of Warring States. In the contemporary era, what appeared in the period of the May 4th Movement was a new scene of all schools of thought contending never witnessed before in our country's history.

A hundred schools of thought contended during the period of the May 4th movement. On the one hand, this was because of the emergence of various trends of

thought in the country, with the collapse of the feudal imperial system. On the other hand, it was due to an unstable world situation, with various trends of thought pouring in from abroad. The hot-blooded youths at that time were a thinking generation. Given the competition of various trends of thought, ideas and doctrines from abroad, they tried to understand, absorb, compare and choose things. These statesmen—Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Yun Daiying—and these men of letters—Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, and Ding Ling—settled for Marxism only after seeking a comprehensive understanding, conducting researches and studies in many fields, and making repeated comparisons.

In the past 10 years, our party has defined openness as fundamental national policy and reiterated the guideline of letting 100 schools of thought contend. Opening to the outside has enabled the call for 100 schools of thought to contend to face a new situation. Due to openness, academic works, philosophy, and social, economic, political and cultural doctrines representing various schools have been introduced from abroad on a large scale. This is another upsurge in the introduction of academic thinking from outside since the "May 4th" Movement. People have got an idea of various doctrines other than Marxism and also an idea of various studies in foreign countries of Marxism. People subject these doctrines to study, discussion, comparison and choice. This is a challenge, a matter of competition, and also an effective boost, as far as our theoretical research of Marxism is concerned. Marxism is not mired in a crisis because of this. On the contrary, this provides a very opportunity for the new development of Marxism.

Given the development of contemporary philosophy, social sciences and humane studies in foreign countries, many valuable scientific results have been achieved. It is incorrect to just recognize the results in the development of foreign countries' natural sciences and refuse understanding and recognizing the results in the development of foreign countries' social sciences. Marxist theory is open and should not be isolated. Openness means not only increasing new contents in continuously studying new world developments but also developing new ideas and receiving new stimulation in an exchange or confrontation with other doctrines. Isolation does not help the development of Marxist theory and can only kill its vitality.

Concerning various contemporary trends of thought and doctrines, we should of course use fundamental Marxist viewpoints and methods to make an analysis. What should be our basis? Should we base ourselves on criticism, or on absorption? I believe that we should base ourselves on a scientific study of them. We should not base ourselves on criticism as the most important thing nor on just absorption by blindly following others.

Only by basing ourselves on scientific studies and discussions can we assess and absorb the valuable results in them and combine China's realities with their application, instead of simply borrowing everything in its

entirety. Also only by basing ourselves on scientific studies and discussions can we make a critical and convincing criticism of the mistaken ideas in them, instead of simply negating things.

To use Marxism as a guide in studying various contemporary trends of thought and doctrines is not to use various concrete conclusions about Marxist theory as a criterion for determining right or wrong, with all that is compatible with these conclusions recognized and all that is incompatible rejected. This means not openness but isolation and means staying in the rut. The criterion for testing truth is practice and not doctrine, even the Marxist doctrine. The truth of Marxist doctrine is based on the test of practice, and continues being tested in practice. All academic viewpoints proved by practice as truth or having factors of truth in them are respected and absorbed by Marxist theory, no matter what the doctrine advocated by the scholars that put them forward. Nothing but this means Marxist theory being put on a scientific, pragmatic and open basis.

History has shown that Marxism was disseminated at the height of the inflow of foreign trends of thought around the "May 4th." It was accepted by the Chinese people on a comparative and selective basis, thus leading to the development and victory of Marxism in China. History will also inevitably show that in overall reform and modernization and in opening up to the outside and letting 100 schools of thought contend, Marxism will be marked with new development and victory in China.

Promote the Spirit of the May 4th Movement: Democracy and Science

Liu Zhiqin (of the Institute of Contemporary History of the Academy of Social Sciences of China): The spirit of "democracy and science" called for by the May 4th Movement has long-term value. Why has the going been so tough in the development of democracy and science in China? This is because of the too great influence of China's traditional culture and the too deep-rooted influence of feudal despotic thinking. Even leading figures and elite intellectuals also often could hardly stand the test. Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao were the first to introduce western democracy. They ended up going astray as royalists. Sun Yat-sen was the leader of the bourgeois democratic revolution. But he later also advocated despotism. Mao Zedong was the advocate of proletarian democracy. In the evening of his life, he devoted himself to the practice of the patriarchal system. This is a phenomenon of labor pains in an agricultural society's transition to industrial society.

We should continue raising high the banner of democracy and science and unify them with patriotism and reform. Patriotism is an ancient theme. Modernization is a brand-new concept. We must vest patriotism with new contents of the contemporary era, that is, democracy and science. Of course, existing democracy and science are different from what was implied in the period

of the May 4th Movement. I believe that the consciousness of being concerned is patriotic thinking. Such consciousness calls for the carrying out of reforms. In the past 10 years, something has been achieved in our democratic construction and scientific development. For example, the passion for culture in the past few years can be described as a manifestation of the spirit of the May 4th Movement being promoted and carried forward. Studies on men have gone far beyond the period of the May 4th Movement. In 1988, the theory of science being the basis of new culture was also put forward.

Wu Tingjia (of the Institute of Contemporary History of the Academy of Social Sciences of China): Since the May 4th Movement, China has found it difficult to develop democracy and science. There are chiefly two causes: a) A weak economic foundation. The development of democracy and science must be built on the basis of social mass production. Our social mass production has not been handled well. b) Democracy and science being incapable of spontaneously arising on the basis of a commodity economy. There is the need for subjective efforts and for cultural construction. The main problems in these two cases have also to do with political reform.

The May 4th Movement also indicates that patriotism is in a historical category. Its implications change with changes of the era. What is implied in contemporary China's patriotism should be democracy and science, or modernization. Modernization does not mean Westernization. Nor does Westernization mean total Westernization. It should be said that studying Western countries' advanced science and culture and transforming our traditional culture are the main direction for the modernization of China of today. Such new implications of patriotism have not been really popularized. We must seriously study the new implications of patriotism of today, and propagate them among the masses.

Qin Xiaoying (of the Editorial Department of TANGJIAN [PARTY CONSTRUCTION] of the Central Propaganda Department): The Communist Party of China had changed from the small to the big and from the weak to the strong. It ended up winning the leading position of the ruling party. This was linked to the democratic spirit of the "May 4th" Movement being carried on. The relationship between the party's survival and the development and the raising high of the banner of democracy is that of living side and side and sharing prosperity. Such a relationship may be described in three stages. The first stage: The May 4th Movement provided spiritual nourishment for the birth of the Communist Party of China. The founders of the Communist Party of China set the maintenance of democracy and the opposition of despotism as their own mission. Chen Duxiu said clearly: Democracy and despotism cannot live side by side. Freedom and monarchy cannot coexist. Freedom gives way to the installation of a monarch. The second stage: After the 1930's, the Communist Party of China was compelled to move to Yanan on a long march. During this period, the Communist Party of China held

high the banner of democracy and national salvation, trying to win support from the people and using plural politics to smash the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang's unified politics. The peaceful solution of the Xian Incident was successfully realized. The third stage was that after the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, China faced the choice between darkness and brightness and between despotism and democracy. At this crucial historical stage, the Communist Party of China quickly raised the banner of democracy and came out as the real successor to the three people's principles—nationalism, democracy, and the people's livelihood. It received widespread support of the people of the whole country and especially the support of democratic parties and groups. It at last won political power. If the Chinese Communists had not put forward the demand for democracy and had not won the absolute support of the people and had just relied on armed struggle, the Chinese revolution could hardly have been crowned with victory.

Our party's leaders for a time had a profound understanding of the problem of democracy. Before the victory of the Chinese revolution, in a study of the book "Dedication 300 Years AFTER the Jiashen Incident [in 1644]," Mao Zedong raised a question: Why was it that in history many peasant uprisings were always marked with big victories followed by big failures, or small victories followed by small failures? In 1946, Mr Huang Yanpei on a visit to Yanan also posed a similar question to Mao Zedong: Dynasties in China's history came and went "with a dynasty rising as quickly as it fell." Could the Communist Party find a way to jump out of this vicious cycle? Mao Zedong gave a clear answer: Yes, the Communist Party had found a way. It was nothing but democracy. We must rely on democracy and let the people supervise the government. On 23 December, 1945, Zhou Enlai in a meeting with Marshall in Chongqing said: We of the Communist Party of China advocated using democracy to solve all problems of China. The kind of democracy advocated by us and U.S.-style democracy had many things in common. But something must be added after the Chinese fashion. For example, there were three aspects of the U.S. version of democracy that could be acquired. First, it was the spirit of independence in the period of Washington. Second, it was minxiang [3046 0078 enjoyment by the people], minyou [3046 2589 possession by the people], and minzhi [3046 3112 rule by the people] during the period of Lincoln. Third, it was Roosevelt's four great freedoms. But the great pity is that since the Communist Party of China assumed the position as the ruling party and especially since 1957, its idea or understanding of democracy had undergone tremendous changes. As a result, big mistakes were caused. Even today, the situation of getting angry at the mention of "democracy" is still frequently noticeable within our party. History shows that when our party had really carried forward the democratic spirit of the May 4th Movement, our cause would achieve victories and change from the weak to the strong. On the contrary, it would suffer setbacks.

Ye Xiaowen (of the CPC Central Party School): From what was called for in the May 4th Movement to date, we have realized with increasing clarity that in promoting the commodity economy, we must promote democratic politics. There is no doubt about that. But between the commodity economy and democratic politics, a knotty problem is involved. It is how to handle the contradiction between centralism and pluralism. The socialist commodity economy calls for the structure of ownership to develop a new pattern based on public ownership as the core with various other patterns existing at the same time. It calls for the social structure to realize a structural breakup and a division of functions, given the perfection of the whole as a prerequisite. It calls for the full differentiation of individual character and a variety of individual roles in people's heading for all the people's development. It calls for the pluralization of the mechanism for cultural choice, given the goal of common ideals and common struggle. These changes have whipped up a storm in the most hidden realm of social psychology. They can give the reform a boost. They can also undo it. The Renaissance and the enlightenment movement laid a plural social basis for the Western development of a modern commodity economy. Our May 4th Movement did not. Nor could it pave the way. We are now heading from centralism toward pluralization. Therefore, we must at present quicken democratic political construction and standardize and run the commodity economy through a whole set of norms for democratic politics and relevant mechanisms.

Wu Xin (of the Science and Technology Development Promotion Center under the State Scientific and Technological Commission): The problem of democracy, in the final analysis, is one of choosing the pattern of social and political development. There are two political choices. One is democratic politics. It covers democratic government, the separation of powers, and other patterns. It is built on the basis of a perfect legal system and well-developed political culture among the people. We have at present still difficulty making such a choice. Through investigations, we have found that there is still something left to be desired in the people's political culture, their consciousness of participation, and their involvement in technology. Another choice is elitist politics. The elite is divided into two groups. One is the power elite, and another the intellectual elite. The pattern of elitist politics calls for a proper combination of these two groups of people. But in our country, there is great estrangement between the power elite and the intellectual elite. The two groups cannot mix with each other very well. So there is also difficulty at the present stage when it comes to the choice of elitist politics. Then what is the direction for the realization of politics? I believe that we should base ourselves on reality, head toward the goal of democratic politics, step by step, and strive for ultimate success. Concretely speaking, we should strive by every means to effectively transform the

existing political system, and establish the mechanism of screening and electing cadres, an anti-corruption mechanism for maintaining honest government, and other mechanisms.

Zhao Hongzhou (of the China Institute of Management): In commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the "May 4th," people have been discussing "science and democracies." I feel that there is all the greater need today to discuss science and democracy. Today, we are living in an era of "mass science." In this era, science and democracy is an austere social problem. This era is one in which the mechanism of mass scientific research constitutes the main contradiction. Such a mechanism is a scientific research system built on the ideological basis of "planned science." It is also a system of organizing science with society's scientific ability as the internal driving force. In the era of mass science, what stimulates scientific progress is no longer the outstanding contribution by one or two gifted scientists. It is instead a comprehensive social force made up of such key elements as a massive army of scientists, complicated testing technology and equipment, highly efficient information systems, ever changing scientific work, and so forth. Therefore, any massive scientific project commissioned calls for the spending of a tremendous amount of money, for all society's manpower, material and financial resources, and sometimes even for large-scale international cooperation. It can be imagined that every link of such a massive scientific project calls for scientific feasibility studies and scientific assessments. Every process calls for collective wisdom and mass strength. It can be imagined that given such conditions, what will be the consequences without a democratic atmosphere and without a democratic process.

Scientific history tells us that the mass science system once deprived of the democratic process and the democratic atmosphere will become a terrible factor in killing national creativity. In the 1940's, Linderman's academic authoritarianism came close to giving Churchill a loss of face on the political science. In the 1950's, (?lang dao's [6745 6670]) imperiousness killed the possibility of (?sha bo luo's [3097 3134 5012]) winning the honor of a Nobel prize for the Soviet Union. (?li sen ke's [2621 2773 4430]) high-handedness left the Soviet biological world such a mess that even winter wheat could not survive the winter. In the 1970's, the elders of the Capitol Hill wasted \$1.5 billion belonging to the United States on "cancer plans." Large hosts of facts show that science must be based on democracy. Mass science especially cannot survive, given no democracy. Without the atmosphere of democracy, the giant of mass science is likely to be suffocated in the dark room of authoritarianism, just as Soviet rocket experts were burned to death in the launching pad due to (?nie jie lin's [3206 2638 2651]) blind command.

Our system mass of scientific research was borrowed from the Soviet Union in its entirety. For several decades, there has been no serious reform. The problem

of democracy under this system finds concentrated expression in "administrative authoritarianism" and "academic authoritarianism." In the 1950's and the 1960's, our country's scientific and technical circles basically had "administrative officials" in charge of everything. The lesson of purely administrative officials taking charge of research institutes is clear to everyone of us. Since the 1980's, many pure scientists have "taken charge" and replaced purely administrative officials in taking care of scientific activities. As a result, many new problems have appeared. These pure scientists perhaps excel in their specialized fields. But once they get involved with management work, their mix of knowledge, way of thinking and traditional style prove incapable of adapting to new conditions. As a result, not only have their own studies suffered but scientific work has been neglected. What is more important is that the "system of bureau chiefs being held responsible" now in force has not been combined with the process of democratic election. Therefore, "authoritarianism" and "the style of academic lords" have developed in the scientific world. According to an initial investigation, "the style of academic lords" has brought quite serious harm to our scientific cause.

The system of mass scientific research is not only a highly concentrated social organizational system but also a highly democratic system of organizing scene. In leading the cause of mass science, both purely administrative officials and pure scientists cannot fill the bill. What it calls for is organizers of science, "commanders of science," who have not only professional knowledge but also an organizational ability. Just as Nobel Prize winner (?ka pi cha [0595 4122 2686]) said, "Now science has developed so as in this era. In such an era, organizers of science will play an increasingly important role." Today, in promoting the spirit of science and democracy, we should put the training of science organizers on the agenda.

Chinese Intellectuals in the Process of Modernization

Zhou Gucheng: In promoting modernization, we must make a scientific analysis of intellectuals' position and role and really carry out the policy toward intellectuals. From a historical point of view, there have been mistakes in our policy toward intellectuals. During the period of democratic revolution, the Communist Party did not fully realize the role of intellectuals. There was a historical reason behind this. Armed struggle still had to rely mainly on the worker-peasant-soldier masses. But after liberation, intellectuals were still looked down upon. Intellectuals were considered as too fickle-minded and politically and ideologically unreliable. This was wrong. As a result, the number of institutes of higher learning was greatly reduced. Such sciences of practical use as law, commerce, and so forth were dropped. There was a great shortage of talent. The state suffered a great loss. Today, we should seriously sum up experiences and lessons in this respect.

Wu Tingjia: Comrade Zhou Gucheng talked about the Communist Party's neglect of intellectuals' role during the period of democratic revolution. It was speaking objectively when he gave the reason for this. Subjectively speaking, despise for intellectuals' role had to do with the low cultural quality of the segment then leading the revolution. Up to now, there is still the need to think back on and review this problem. This is because the matter of looking down upon, trouncing and excluding intellectuals has become almost a historically incurable disease. It can be traced far back, with influence still felt up to now. If there was a given reason for the neglect of intellectuals' role during the period of democratic revolution, then there was not the least reason for discriminating against intellectuals again in the period of socialist construction. Now the primary task is the realization of modernization. In the period of modernization, intellectuals assume a peculiar position or role. This has not been clearly recognized by all society, including high-level leaders and intellectuals themselves. Of course, China's intellectuals with their historical features and realistic character call for transformation. But in such transformation, we can never follow the previous way of looking down upon, excluding and trouncing them.

Shang Xiaoyuan: The lesson left by the May 4th Movement for China's intellectuals is quite worth a review. In the period of the May 4th Movement, the social structure was like a pyramid, with the masses at the lower levels accounting for a relatively large proportion and those at the middle level being relatively weak. This caused too excited trends of thought and behavior to arise and spread easily, leading to serious social turmoil. But national rejuvenation and development is a tremendous task, a complicated and long-term process. Particular attention should be paid to the accumulation of economic strength. Economic strength is the basis for a change of government and the spread of ideas. But large-scale social turmoil would often lead to total ruin and the wiping out of long accumulated economic strength. From this point of view, the May 4th Movement inevitably has a destructive side. This is what we should pay particular attention to when we commemorate the May 4th Movement today. The Chinese intellectuals of today may have more radical thinking and action than in the period of the May 4th Movement. This is because intellectuals of former years were at the middle level economically. Most of the intellectuals of today have dropped to the lowest level economically. This situation is more likely to cause intellectuals' thinking and action to be on the obstinate side. This is what people in intellectual circles should guard against. While we are dissatisfied with various phenomena, it seems that we should more seriously analyze their historical causes and realize our own mission of national rejuvenation. We should endure humiliation for the sake of an important mission and make our own contributions toward the state's stability and economic development.

Li Yongfeng (of the Institute of Chinese Culture under the Capital's Research and Development Company): The era of today is greatly different from the May 4th

Period. What the "May 4th" led to under its guidance was a political era, an era in which all the people were aroused to resist foreign aggression. Today we are in an era of peace and development. Such differences of the era have given rise to two different mechanisms. The former calls for a highly concentrated system of mobilizing all the people. The latter calls for the transformation of such a highly concentrated mechanism. Thus, culture must undergo an appropriate transformation. The main disseminators of culture—intellectuals—should appropriately overcome their own impulsiveness. In other words, they should overcome their sentiment of fighting at close quarters. I believe that the mission of today's intellectuals should not be a matter of being involved and aroused at close range. Instead, it should be a matter of thinking and exploration at a great distance away. In an era in which there is no ready-made road for the reform to follow, we should have a cool head and refrain from being impulsive.

Chen Jin (of the Central Literature Research Office): The core of the enlightening thinking of the "May 4th" was freedom. But the Chinese intellectuals' sense of freedom was enveloped in a mist. Such freedom was not a case of what to pursue and what freedom to create, but the freedom about what to get rid of and what to avoid. It was thus the freedom of the weak, and not the freedom of the strong. It was spiritual freedom and not material freedom. Therefore, strictly speaking, present-day China has no intellectuals in the Western sense of the word. Nor does it have men of letters in the traditional sense. Men of letters in the traditional sense worry about principle but not about poverty. I feel that intellectuals of today should worry first about poverty and then about principle. They should first seek self-enlightenment, learn again from society, upgrade their concept, and learn how to develop the commodity economy.

Retrospects and Reflections of a Person Who Has Experience—Answering QIUSHI Reporters' Questions on the 70th Anniversary of the May 4th Movement

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[Article by Xian Yan 1115 5888]

[Text] Question: This year is the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement. Since you took part in the New Culture Movement, would you please tell me of your experiences at that time and what you presently think of the movement.

Answer: I was 19 in 1919, and still a middle school student. This period witnessed wars among the warlords and the masses living in dire poverty. At the same time the Paris Peace Conference made public the Twenty-One Demands Japan imposed on China. The national crisis enraged the youth throughout the country. Beijing's students held a demonstration on 4 May and set fire to Zhaojia Building [6392 1367 2369]. Four days after the news had spread to Hangzhou, over 2,000 middle school

students staged the first demonstration, raising the slogans: "reject the Treaty of Versailles," "strictly punish the traitors Cao Rulin, Zhang Zongxiang, and Lu Zongyu," "reclaim Qingdao," and "boycott Japanese goods." The movement was a patriotic movement against foreign aggression from the outset. Of course, the anti-imperialist struggle was inseparable from the struggle against feudalism.

Question: Did the October Revolution have an effect on the patriotic movement against imperialism and feudalism?

Answer: In about 1918, we learned from Shanghai's SHEN BAO and NINGUO RIBAO that a revolution had broken out in Russia, but the newspapers referred to Russia's Bolshevik Party as "radical party" or "red party." At that time various trends of thought were introduced into China. MINGUO RIBAO's supplement JIAOWU and SHISHI XINBAO's supplement XUE-DENG often ran articles introducing socialism, anarchism, and syndicalism. It can be said with certainty that a number of advanced intellectuals were affected by the ideological trend in connection with the October Revolution, but it was patriotism that encouraged the youth to take part in the movement. In mid-July 1919, Beijing University sent a representative to Hangzhou to make a report to us. His slogans were none other than "struggle against foreign powers externally, wipe out traitors internally," and the specific action was to oppose the Twenty-One Demands and boycott Japanese goods.

Question: In your reminiscences you mentioned the weekly ZHEJIANG XINCHAO [ZHEJIANG NEW WAVE] that you and other people published.

Answer: As early as 1918, a number of middle school students in Hangzhou joined an organization something like a reading association, which was loosely organized. The membership accounted to over 20 persons, including Yu Xiusong, Xuan Zhonghua, Shi Cuntong, Fu Binran from the First Zhejiang Normal School; Cha Mengji, Ruan Yicheng from the First Middle School; and Wang Fuquan, Sun Jingwen, Ni Weixiong, and I from the Class A Industrial School. The periodical SHUANGSHI [DOUBLE TEN] was published in October 1919, and the name was replaced by ZHEJIANG XINCHAO after two issues. At that time Zhejiang boasted an outstanding educationist Mr Jing Hengyi, who was also principal of the First Normal School, where there were four liberal teachers, known as "four Buddha's warrior attendants" including Chen Wangdao, Xia Mianzun, Li Cijiu, and Liu Dabao. Under the ideological influence of Beijing University's president Cai Yuanpei, Mr Jing Hengyi carried out an educational policy which "kept abreast of the times," allowed students full authority for managing their own affairs, and saw to it that the textbooks for teaching Chinese be changed over to writings in the vernacular. Therefore ZHEJIANG

XINCAHO was run by students of the First Normal Schools including Xuan Zhonghua, Yi Xiusong, and so on with the support of Chen Wangdao and Xian Mianzun.

Question: I have read an article written by Chen Jian, professor of Hangzhou University. He said that ZHEJIANG XINCHAO was the earliest periodical which was affected by the October Revolution and which propagated socialism.

Answer: It is okay to say so, for the periodical announced its four purposes in its introduction: "first, to strive for the happy life and progress of entire mankind; second, to reform society; third, to arouse the consciousness of laborers and help them unite; fourth, to investigate the current students and laborers, criticize them, and offer them guidance." We can see from the foreword that of the more than a score of young people, at least some had made a step forward from the national-democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism, realizing that young people should shoulder the responsibility of reforming society and uniting laborers. Naturally only a small number of people were aware of the responsibility, and I was not one of them. Aroused by patriotism, and dissatisfied with reality, I only followed other people in an effort to find a way out. The periodical had published only four issues before it was banned because of an article entitled "Oppose Filial Piety" written by Shi Cuntong. Every issue of the periodical consisted of 2,000 copies, but it made a great impact on its readers. Since the article "Oppose Filial Piety" was written by a student from the First Zhejiang Normal School and the periodical's correspondence address was "care of the first normal school, in front of Gongyuan, Hangzhou," the reactionary authorities in Zhejiang at that time closed down the periodical, and took Jing Hengyi and the four teachers including Chen Wangdao to task. The following year witnessed the "Dump Jing (Hengyi) Movement" and the "First Zhejiang Normal School" bloodshed that rocked the country.

Question: Was the "Zhejiang Xinchao" the first periodical you wrote articles for?

Answer: It was a bit earlier than that. I began contributing to the supplements of Shanghai's SHI BAO and SHISHI XINBAO in 1918, when I was a middle school student. The fact that I joined SHUANGSHI and ZHEJIANG XINCHAO was entirely prompted by the surge of the "May 4th Movement." I read a number of progressive books and magazines, but I could not tell socialism from anarchism. Using the pen name Shen Zaibai, I wrote for SHUANGSHI an article criticizing the four newspapers in Zhejiang, and later wrote for ZHEJIANG XINCAHO an article entitled "Casual Notes." Entirely beyond my expectations, this short essay of mine, together with Shi Cuntong's "Oppose Filial Piety," arrested Chen Duxiu's attention. He said in his article entitled "Casual Notes 74: ZHEJIANG XINCHAO—Juvenile" carried by XIN QINGNIAN No

2, Volume 7: "Comments in the ZHEJIANG XINCHAO are more thoroughgoing. 'Oppose Filial Piety' and the essay attacking Hangzhou's four newspapers are simple and unaffected. They are very lovely indeed. They are words the hypocrite school is totally unable to utter." He also encouraged us: even if the periodical is closed down, you need not lose heart; you must uphold this spirit and wage a struggle against poverty and the duck rule. This was certainly great encouragement for a young man of 19. Unfortunately, following the "First Zhejiang Normal School Unrest," Jing Hengyi, Chen Wangdao, and Xia Mianzun, together with Xuan Zhonghua, Shi Cuntong, and Yu Xiusong left Zhejiang. I managed to graduate from the middle school in 1920 with my school record being rated as class A, and behavior D. Later I was sent by my mother school's principal Xu Bingkun to further my study in Japan, cherishing the fond dream of saving the country with industry. Of course the sparks of the May 4th Movement did not go out. Chen Wangdao, Shi Cuntong, and Yu Xiusong arrived in Shanghai after they left Zhejiang and got to know Chen Duxiu, Li Hanjun, Li Da, and Shen Yanbing the same year through the introduction of Yang Mingzhai, who just came back from the Soviet Union. Chen Wangdao, Chen Duxiu, Li Hanjun, Li Da, Shen Yanbing, and others formed a communist party group. Shi Cuntong took part in the preparatory work of the group, but went to Japan. Being younger, Yu Xiusong joined China's first socialist youth league.

Question: The May 4th movement was a patriotic movement against imperialism and also a new culture movement against feudalism. What did you think of the New Culture Movement at that time?

Answer: The two were closely related. The struggle against the aggression by Japan and other imperialist powers was waged out of strong patriotism, and the struggle to "oppose Confucianism" and the traditional culture—mainly oppose the feudal ethics (arranged marriages in particular) and mandatory studying of Confucian classics and worshiping of Confucius—in my opinion, embodied the democratic ideology and humanitarianism demanding freedom and equality. The period round about the "May 4th Movement" first saw tangled warfare among warlords, and then the confrontation between the south and north. There was not a unified government in China, and this provided the intellectuals with such an opportunity that all their new ideologies could contend. The contention of a hundred schools of thought before the Qin dynasty appeared during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods, when the country was torn apart by rival principalities. The rapid dissemination of Marxism in China following the October Revolution was made possible by the fact that the country was torn by disunion and there was not a party which could unify all kinds of ideologies. Around about the time of the "May 4th Movement," all kinds of ideological trends gushed into China: Marxism, utopian socialism, anarchism, and Russell's, Tagore's and Mushanokoji Saneatsu's thoughts imported from Western Europe, India, and

Japan. Though Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu, Qu Qiubai, et al., embraced Marxism, the Chinese Communist Party was set up in 1921, and the polemic between the new and old cultures lasted 10 years, the polemic was confined to high-level intellectuals to the exclusion of the broad masses, and the slogans to mobilize the masses remained to be "down with big powers; wiping out warlords" when the National Government in Guangdong unleashed the Northern Expedition.

Question: Can it be said that the civil war prevented the "May 4th" New Culture Movement from proceeding in depth?

Answer: In the 1920s, saving the country from subjugation, opposing aggression by the big powers, and wiping out various warlords, who were running dogs of the imperialists, was an overriding task, a matter of prime importance for the Chinese people. And the struggle to oppose feudalism was limited to opposing cannibalistic feudal ethics, feudal oppression, and loyalty to monarchs, parents, husbands, and friends, and demanding freedom of marriage. Before the Second Revolutionary Civil War, few, excepting Sun Zhongshan, commented on the land system, which was the basis of the feudal system, and industrialization. Recently, I came across an article entitled "From Westernization to Modernization" by Comrade Luo Rongqu.¹ He talked about the book *Outlook on Chinese and Western Cultures* by Yang Mingzhai, who pointed out: "The Confucianist doctrines of politics, laws, thoughts, morals, and ethics owe their 2,000-year-long existence in China entirely to the organization of agricultural production;" therefore, only when "the agricultural country is being gradually transformed into an industrial country," can a new world be formed. It is surprising that "such a unique book which has made a systematic analysis of, and passed criticism upon, all sorts of eclecticism from a wide field of vision," could have been forgotten for a long time. People of my generation not only have not read it, but also have never heard it spoken of. The path of China's democratic revolution was really extremely difficult to travel, the slogans "science, democracy" advanced by the May 4th Movement failed to strike root among the masses. The main reasons were: First, we had never gone beyond the cultural level and touched upon the task of economic reform; second, China has a cultural tradition of 2,000 years, which has dross and cream, and it was impossible to thoroughly break with the national tradition judging from the viewpoints of cultural anthropology. In addition, China was a big country with a great number of illiterates and poor quality people, if we did not improve the people's living standards and their cultural quality by "gradually transforming China, a country which had a self-sufficient, small-scale peasant economy, into an industrial country from an agricultural one" through industrialization and modernization, the formation of a new culture was out of the question. During the period of the May 4th Movement, we were most affected by *On Europeanization* written by Chen Duxiu and the *On*

Wholesale Westernization—later changed into *Incorporate China into the World to the Full Extent* by Hu Shi. Chen Duxiu said: "If we come out in favor of the western civilization introduced recently, we are bound to negate the old Confucianism; if we oppose the old Confucianism, we are certain to approve the western civilization imported recently. There is no room for compromise between the two." Hu Shi also said that only if we engage in westernization whole-heartedly can we break with cultural eclecticism. Thereafter young people not only did not read thread-bound Chinese books, but also did not read books on culture written between the last years of Qing Dynasty and early days of the Republic of China, such as *A General Outline of the Learning of Qing Dynasty* by Liang Qichao. I did not read *Notes of Impressions From a Visit to Europe* by Liang Qichao and his other works until the mid-1930s, when Shanghai's cultural circles vehemently attacked the *A Declaration of Cultural Construction on the Basis of Chinese Culture* advanced by "10 professors," who were known as Kuomintang hack writers. Liang's *On Cultural Mutual Complement* enlightened me a great deal. Liang Qichao was an outstanding thinker. He realized the weak points of western bourgeois culture following his tour of Europe, and was disappointed with western civilization, which he had praised highly. So he advocated "making use of western culture to enrich ours and supplementing the former with the latter." He said: "Let us decorate our house with lanterns, load the table with wine, and stand at the door," to greet the arrival of "a western beauty," and "ask her to give birth to a baby in our family." This "theory of mutual complement" can be referred to as a "theory of grafting" or a "theory of hybridization," though it smacks of something Chinese. He did not obstinately follow tradition, neither did he worship anything foreign. He advocated adopting an analytical attitude toward Chinese traditional culture, "pointing out both its strong and weak points," discarding the dross, and selecting the essence. He said: "If we point out its strong points, we say something patriotic; if we point out its weaknesses, we say something to tide over the existing crises." In modern academic history, Liang Qichao was the earliest scholar who advocated "emancipating the mind" in a most daring manner. He said: "The emancipation of the mind will only do us good"; "we should encourage young people to think as they please and let them call into question any doctrines, ancient or modern, Chinese or foreign. It does not matter even if they go so far as to negate China's ancient kings Rau, Shun, Tang, and Wu, who are traditionally considered sagacious." He told young people not to be afraid of departing from the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy. He said: "If the 'classics' and orthodoxy prove incorrect, is it suitable to depart from and rebell against them? If they are irrefutable, they will all the more show their true value after they come in for questioning. True gold fears no fire, as the saying goes." He advocated emancipation of the mind and mutual supplement, or hybridization mainly because he realized both Chinese and western cultures have their merits and demerits. He believed that it is wrong to exclude those that are

different as far as academic ideology, culture, and art are concerned. He said: "Either being confined to our own academic ideology and refusing to touch upon anything foreign or vice versa" means going to extremes and is harmful to the formation of a new culture. He made the above remarks after the Yihetuan Movement [an anti-imperialist armed struggle waged by north China peasants and handicraftsmen] went under. He was against going from blind opposition to everything foreign to national nihilism and wholesale westernization. He said: "If you teach a person by guiding him in light of his inclination and making a comparison between things he has known, you will get twice the result with half the effort. Why is it that many foreign well-known scholars failed to help Chinese people in building their country? It is because they know us but they do not understand us with the result that they are incompatible with us." During the last few years, when all kinds of schools of thought were encouraged to contend, however, it has been found that making serious explorations coexisted with making irresponsible remarks as did engaging in academic pursuits in a down-to-earth manner with self-peddling.² I believe it is useful to review Liang Qichao's remarks.

Question: In Comrade Luo Rongqu's article, which you mentioned, he said that "those advocating westernization split into two sects following the May 4th Movement: those who were in favor of bourgeois 'westernization,' and those who advocated 'learning from the socialist Soviet Union'; a new sect known as 'New Confucianism' also split off from those who favored Confucianism." What do you think of that?

Answer: It is natural that people tend to converge and diverge after clashes of academic thoughts. I agree with the following passage in Comrade Luo Rongqu's essay: "The New Culture Movement was successful in opposing idolatry and eliminating outdated ideas, but the movement was unable to proceed in depth or in detail. The discussion on eastern and western cultures was superfluous and it wound up hastily. Quite a lot of arguments were philosophical. Before Chinese intellectuals could acquire a comparatively profound understanding of the development in modern capitalism and its progressive nature in history and make a due appraisal, a lot of criticism of capitalism had appeared. Socialism was only an ideal and a faith at that time... Marxism was also introduced into China in haste. The Chinese Communist Party was involved in actual revolutionary struggles as soon as it was set up. Its 'utmost weak point' was that 'it was not adequately prepared ideologically and theoretically. It was comparatively childish.'" ³ This analysis conforms to the reality. By the May 4th Movement under the rule of imperialism and feudalism, people with lofty ideals had waged an unyielding struggle for independence and liberation for more than half a century, braving untold dangers, so it was no wonder that Chinese intellectuals accepted Marxism with eagerness despite the fact that they were not adequately prepared ideologically and theoretically,

when the first socialist country in the world came into being with the salvoes of the October Revolution. At that time, few people knew Russian and German, and the first Marxist classics including the Manifesto of the Communist Party that were introduced into China were retranslated from the English and Japanese versions. The Chinese Communist Party was set up in 1921, one year earlier than the Japanese Communist Party. China's national capitalist industry developed around the First World War, but the working class comprised of quite a number of members; 12 representatives representing over 50 party members across the country, attended the "1st congress" of the Chinese Communist Party. When the party called the "2d congress," party members totalled only 195 throughout the country, most of them intellectuals. However, the situation demanded action. In October 1921, the year when the party was established, the party organized and led the strike of railway workers who worked on the section between Wuchang and Changsha of the Guangzhou-Wuhan Railway, that is, the party involved in actual revolutionary struggles as soon as it was set up. Objectively, the workers and peasants who were oppressed and exploited wanted revolution, but subjectively the newly-born party lacked struggle experience and was not properly prepared ideologically. In addition, the Chinese Communist Party was affiliated with the Communist International and the latter's "Left" or "Right" deviation surely affected China. The archives of the Communist International made public by the Soviet Union in recent years shows the organization did not achieve a clear understanding of the expansion of modern capitalism and its progressive significance in history. Toward the end of the 1920s Soviet industry developed rapidly while the western world was in the throes of a serious economic crisis following 1929. Lenin said: "Imperialism is a special historical stage of capitalism"; "imperialism is moribund capitalism." These theses exerted a far-reaching influence on the International Communist Movement, especially on young people of the 1930s, who lacked practical experiences and could only find a way out from "books" and "resolutions." Since socialism was thriving and capitalism was breathing its last, we were trying to win a quick victory and looking forward to the "breaking out of a national revolution" every day. This was a fantasy, but it was shared by a lot of people or it was even a consensus. Qu Qiubai said: "Chinese intellectuals, who came from a patriarchal society where Confucianism, Lao-tze's doctrines, Buddhism, and Zhu Xi' doctrines prevailed, were extremely poorly educated as a whole and knew little about science and history. The ideological representatives of China's proletariat were no exception. But the reality urged the ideological representatives of the proletariat to solve many complicated problems encountered in the revolution. 'We were forced to use the dog to till the land because we had no cows.'" This was really the case with Chinese Marxists.⁴ This was the actual condition at that time.

Question: How did that situation and understanding affect China's New Culture Movement?

Answer: The influence was great and profound. Following the failure of the Great Revolution (1925-27), the Kuomintang and Chinese Communist Parties became two warring sections and the former came into power. People were no longer allowed to air their opinions as they had done when there was a tangled fighting between warlords or when there was a confrontation between the north and south, and the government gagged ideology using its power. The most conspicuous was the great "cultural encirclement" during the period at the end of the 1920s and the 1930s. But where there was a "cultural encirclement," there was an "anticultural encirclement"; hence the left-wing cultural movement under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. The left-wing Writers' Union and left-wing Social Scientists' Union were prepared in the autumn of 1929 and set up in the spring of 1930 (it is necessary to remember 1929, an extraordinary year in both China's and the world's modern history, when there was a serious economic depression in the capitalist world, the Soviet Union took a well-known "big turn," and in China, Chen Duxiu was disappointed about the prospects for the revolution and was expelled from the party!). To combat the Right deviation, all these cultural organizations' names were preceded with "left-wing." We have to assess the left-wing cultural movement in the light of the situation at home and abroad at that time, and from the viewpoints of historical materialism. It made mistakes, but it made a great contribution in opposing the cultural "encirclement," and publicizing and extending the ideological influence of Marxism. In my opinion, it exerted the greatest influence on two matters: First, the relations between politics and ideology on the one hand, and culture and art on the other. Affected by the Russian Proletarian Writers Association and Japan's Napu [4780 2528] before it was set up, the left-wing Writers' Union, putting undue emphasis on the role of culture, literature, and art in propagandizing and mobilizing the masses, raised the slogan "all kinds of literature and art are propaganda." Some people maintained at first that literature and art are subordinate to and serve politics, and later that literature and art serve the current politics and policy, and the writer, painter, and singer must write, draw, and sing for the central task respectively. They even went so far as to advocate "taking class struggle as the key link." This not only went against the law of literature and art, but also deviated from Marx's and Engels' doctrines on literature and art. This "Left" deviation thinking began in the 1920s and continued until after the founding of the People's Republic. It was upgraded step by step in the 1950s until the unprecedented Cultural Revolution, when destroying old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits was in fact restoring them. It is painful to ponder over the past. I do not address these problems to shift off the responsibility to history or to the international background, and what I mean is that we were susceptible to "left" dogmatism given our ideological level and the environment we were in at that time. Second, another thing that affected the New Culture Movement was closed-doorism. The first program of the Left-wing Writers' Union when it was set

up in 1930 made it clear that "our art is against the feudal class, the bourgeoisie, and the petty bourgeoisie who are underprivileged." Opposing the petty-bourgeoisie, given the circumstances at that time, amounted to opposing intellectuals who "had a questionable family background." In a so-called "literary polemic" which broke out in February 1928 between the "Taiyang Association," "Chuangzao Association," and Lu Xun for one party and the "Literary Research Association" for another, the first article entitled "Art and Social Life" in the magazine CULTURE CRITICISM criticized Lu Xun, Ye Shengtao, Yu Dafu, and Zhang Ziping by name. This polemic was the continuation and development of the criticism of Hu Shi by young communists. Several years ago I read in the JIEFANG RIBAO a letter by Hu Shi to Chen Duxiu. Hu Shi said: "For several years China has been rife with things unbearable"; "the most unbearable is a number of persons who profess to be the newest personages,... I have been away from Beijing for over 2 months and I have read all the articles by young members of your party slandering me.... I am really a little pessimistic. I am afraid that when such things become a way of life, this society will be more cruel."⁵ Hu Shi was a genuine liberal and also Chen Duxiu's "old friend." Around the 30th May Movement he was against imperialism and feudalism. It was after 1927 that he went from right deviation to openly opposing communism. The letter by which he broke relations with Chen Duxiu shows this had something to do with the slanders against him. To my recollection it was in the article "The Closed-Doorism in the Front of Literature and Art" by Zhang Wentian published in the magazine DOUZHENG in the pen name of Gete that the party openly set forth the task of opposing closed-doorism. This article was aimed at the criticism of "liberals" and "the third kind of people" by the left-wing Writers' Union in 1931. He clearly pointed out: "The most tremendous obstacle that keeps the Left-wing literature and art movement from breaking through its narrow and clandestine bounds is the Left closed-doorism." He went on to say that petty-bourgeois writers and artists are allies of the revolutionary literary and artistic movement; it is necessary to "explain to them patiently to bring them round and win them over" and to "form a broad revolutionary united front." It was also in this article that the author for the first time criticized the propositions that literature is the "gramophone of politics" and "literature and art are a certain class's tools of agitating people." This article played a certain role in expanding the "left-wing Writers' Union" in its later stage, but its influence was limited because the White terror wreaked havoc at that time and few people could have access to the magazine DOUZHENG. Why did the closed-doorism and sectarianism affect the New Culture Movement so much? In my recollection, the main reasons were: first, the childishness on the part of Left-wing people; second, the influence exerted by the Third International, which consistently considered the Social Democratic Parties in all countries as the "most vicious enemy." In making revolution, the greater popular support, the better. To unite more people we should follow

the principle of "seeking common ground while reserving differences" on ideology-related matters. I knew this from Comrade Zhou Enlai's talks with me early in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

Question: You have mentioned again and again in your speeches and essays that the people's poor cultural quality was to blame for the fact that we failed to wipe out feudalism completely and the slogans "democracy, science" advanced in the May 4th Movement failed to strike root in China. Would you please talk about these problems?

Answer: In opposing feudalism we have to wage struggles on three fronts: first, opposing feudal political and economic systems; second, opposing feudalistic ideology; third, opposing feudal customs and habits. It can be said that we have basically abolished the feudal system after the Revolution of 1911 and the agrarian reform, which was carried out after the founding of the New China. However, it is not so easy to oppose feudalistic ideology. Take for example the feudal loyalty to monarchs, parents, husbands, and friends which intellectuals who took part in the May 4th Movement shouted at the top of their voice to cast away. Since the Revolution of 1911, it is clear that there has been no "monarchs" to be loyal to, but the period of the Cultural Revolution witnessed "three loyalties" [loyalty to the late Chairman Mao Zedong, loyalty to Mao Zedong Thought, and loyalty to his proletarian revolutionary line] and "loyalty dance" [sort of group dance expressing loyalty to the party and the late Chairman Mao during the Cultural Revolution]. Shi Cuntong's article "Oppose Filial Piety" mentioned above suggested that the antifeudal movement (in fact the movement has existed since ancient times. Confucius's offspring Kong Rong said that "the mother is nothing but a bottle containing children.") had gone a long way, but it had to stop before going too far, because it was stipulated in the law that every citizen has the responsibility of supporting his parents. Nobody maintains now that "a woman should be faithful to her husband all her life even when she is in widowhood," but the cases are not few in which a widow is prevented by her children from remarrying. Personal loyalty not only remains intact, but is also further intensified. The most conspicuous example is that "being loyal to each other" becomes common practice among youngsters, a practice they learnt from Guan Gong [a general in the Period of Three Kingdoms, deified in later generations as China's god of war], who said that we must go by brotherhood. Feudal customs and habits, it seems, are far from rooted out. The concepts that "the more children you have, the more blessed you are," and that men are superior to women, practising geomancy, burning joss sticks and praying to Buddha, asking the fortune-teller for advice, "erecting tablets in memory of ancestors," occupying land to build graves, performing Taoist or Buddhist rites to save the soul of the dead, spitting everywhere, not being punctual, and other several-thousand-year-old habits are not only still found in poverty-stricken and backward areas, but also a common occurrence in

Guangdong and the coastal regions, which "are westernized" earlier than other places. We can only change the prevailing habits and customs by means of education and culture instead of administrative orders. Since the founding of the New China, we have scored achievements in wiping out illiteracy, but the work was suspended in the mid-1950s. Following the 10-year catastrophe, illiterates increased to 230 million out of a population of 1,000 million. During the period of the May 4th Movement, science and democracy were sought after, that is, Mr Science and Mr Democracy were asked to come to our rescue. In fact science has no national character, nor class character. It came to China silently as early as when Xu Guangqi was alive, and those who initiated the Westernization Movement and those who advocated constitutional reform and modernization were not against science. But since democracy entered China, it has made little progress. Because the flower of democracy cannot strike root in the feudal soul, and democracy cannot be spread among illiterates. In 1942, commemorative activities were conducted in Chongqing to mark the 300th anniversary of the death of Galileo and the birth of Newton, and I published in QUNZHONG an article entitled "Science and Democracy Are Inseparable." I said that it is impossible for science to develop without the environment of democracy, and there will be no genuine democracy if people lack scientific knowledge and a scientific approach. There was a "Du Yaquan phenomenon" in China and in the Soviet Union there was also a "Michurin phenomenon." They were different in that Du Yaquan was a peasant still farming on his own after agricultural cooperation and Michurin enjoyed powerful government backing. China had another bitter experience, that is, we "overthrew" Ma Yinchu's doctrine of population by means of more poverty and louder voices. China suffers most from poverty and ignorance. After a struggle of 1 and a half centuries, the reform and opening up of the last decade in particular, some people have become well-off, but it must be realized that it may be more difficult to deal with illiterates and semi-illiterates who got rich quick than with poor illiterates. It is not easy to realize the four modernizations when one fourth of 1,000 million people remain illiterate, and it is necessary to work for the modernization of people quality before we can achieve the four modernizations of agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology. In the final analysis, education is the foundation of our country, as we said a long time ago. We must leave no stone unturned to eliminate illiteracy, and spread cultural and scientific knowledge among the people. Japan introduced Meiji Reforms in 1868 and enforced the compulsory education system 4 years later, namely, in 1872. The parents were to be brought to justice if they did not send their children of school age to school. They conducted compulsory education with the support of law. It did not seem proper to seek only democracy and science in the period of the May 4th Movement to the exclusion of a legal system. Science and democracy are inseparable, as are democracy and the legal system.

Question: At present quite a number of people are talking about cultural crisis or say that the reform is in danger. What is your opinion about this?

Answer: I do not see it that way. It is necessary to ponder over the past and to be aware of the current difficulties, but we should not lose sight of our achievements scored in the last 40 years, in the last decade in particular. The most conspicuous feature that distinguishes China from other socialist countries as far as reform is concerned, is that we started the reform in the countryside. During the reform of the last 10 years, 800 million peasants out of a population of 1,000 million have benefited from it. That means that the overwhelming majority of the people support the reform and it is impossible for the peasants, who have become well-off, to slip back into the old rut of "being larger in size and having higher degree of public ownership." This is a general trend which cannot be reversed. So long as we are full of confidence, deepen the reform whole-heartedly, refuse to indulge in empty talk, do more solid things, and keep on for 10, 20, or 50 years, it is hopeful and possible that we will succeed in building a new socialist China with Chinese characteristics.

Footnotes

1. See RENMIN RIBAO 21, 16 February.
2. See the "Price of Democracy and Necessity of Selection" by Comrade Yang Yu, in 17 Feb 89 GUANGMING RIBAO.
3. See "A Reply to Comrade Song Liang" by Liu Shaoqi).
4. See the author's own introduction to Qu Qiubai's Collected Works.
5. See "CHEN BAO Incident and Hu Shi's Right Deviation" in the 15 March JIEFANG RIBAO.

Promote the Reform of the Personnel System, Manage Personnel Affairs According to the Legal System

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[Article by Zhao Dongwan 6392 2639 1354]

[Text] To build a socialist political structure with a high degree of democracy and a complete set of laws, a structure that is effective and full of vitality, is the long-range goal of reform of the political structure set by the 13th CPC National Congress. The key to the reform of the personnel system which is part and parcel of the reform of the political structure lies in changing the present personnel system, which is not governed by legislation or democratic means, into a system under which personnel affairs are managed according to law and on a scientific basis.

It Is Imperative To Establish a Legal System for Personnel Management

By establishing a legal system for personnel management, we mean working out scientific and strict legal standards for the various aspects and links of personnel management and managing personnel affairs according to law. Establishing a legal system for personnel management is of great significance in perfecting the socialist legal system, deepening the reform of the personnel system, and making sure state organs are all clean and honest.

Establishing a legal system for personnel management is an important component part of the building of our country's socialist legal system. The socialist legal system covers many sectors. The organic law is one important sector and rules and regulations on personnel affairs are an important component part of the organic law. The formulation of rules and regulations on personnel management has not only great significance to personnel work but also an impact not to be ignored on the overall construction of our country's legal system. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the building of the legal system in our country has made considerable progress and a criminal law, civil law, and procedural law have been promulgated one after another. Not only have these laws provided personnel legislation with experience but they have also made the personnel legislation work more imperative. Personnel management legislation comparatively lags behind legislation in other fields of endeavor. Currently, the "Interim Regulations on Public Servants" and the "Interim Regulations on the Personnel Management of Enterprises Under the System of Ownership by the Whole People" are now in the stage of solicitation of opinions or a stage of examination and approval. The formulation of rules and regulations specifying the size of administrative organs is in the stage of further deliberation and that of other supporting rules and regulations is in the stage of either planning or consideration. Apparently, the task of personnel legislation work is both extremely arduous and strenuous.

Establishing a legal system for personnel management is the summation of the experience of our country in its personnel work and also the important content of deepening the reform of the personnel system. The fundamental goal of the reform of the personnel system is to institutionalize personnel management and put it on a scientific basis. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have conducted a lot of explorations in reforming our country's personnel management system, making innovative progress in some important aspects. Conscientiously summing up experience in these aspects and formulating appropriate rules and regulations will be conducive not only to the consolidation of achievements gained in reform so far but also to the deepening and development of reform of the personnel system.

Establishing a legal system for personnel management is also a necessary guarantee for clean and honest government in personnel departments. Personnel affairs work involves people's interests in all aspects and it has always attracted the attention of cadres and the masses of people. Therefore, particular attention should be paid to the building of a clean government. In making sure that all people engaged in personnel affairs work can be impartial, honest, and upright in discharging duties in such issues as the use and recruitment of personnel, changing of family members' "residence registration from rural to urban," and the examination and approval of the size of administrative organs, one very important thing to do is to perfect rules and regulations on personnel management, manage personnel affairs according to law, and at the same time, to strengthen public supervision over people engaged in personnel affairs work. One of the major characteristics of managing personnel affairs according to law is openness. One weak point in our past personnel affairs work was lack of adequate transparency. Some policies and regulations which ought to be made known to the masses of people assumed, more often than not, the form of "internal documents." This offered an opportunity for unhealthy practices to emerge and spread. Establishing a legal system for personnel management will help make personnel affairs work more open and transparent. Moreover, once such a law is promulgated, the masses of people can supervise people engaged in personnel affairs work in accordance with the law and personnel workers can enhance their legal sense. This will help reduce violations of law and discipline codes by personnel departments and promote the clean government of personnel departments.

To sum up, strengthening the institutionalization of personnel management is the objective need to consolidate what has been achieved in the reform of the personnel system and promote the clean government of personnel departments and also the inevitable trend of deepening the personnel system reform. We should conscientiously do a good job in establishing a legal system for personnel management from the height of the socialist political structural reform.

Tentative Ideas About the System of Rules and Regulations on Personnel Management

Being a full target system, the institutionalization of personnel management includes the formulation of a series of rules and regulations on personnel management and their strict enforcement procedures. In doing personnel management work, we should see to it that there are laws to abide by, that laws already enacted are observed and enforced to the letter, and that violators are brought to justice. The main task at present is to gradually establish a relatively complete system of rules and regulations on personnel affairs, which is commensurate with the actual conditions in our country.

The system of rules and regulations on personnel management has many parts. As far as the work nature and functions of state organs, enterprises, and institutions

are concerned, they should have separate rules and regulations on personnel management. Since the composition of personnel varies from unit to unit, it is necessary to establish a relatively independent system of rules and regulations on personnel management according to different conditions, a system which tallies with the actual conditions of their own.

On the part of state administrative organs, their main task is to establish a system of rules and regulations on public servants. Instituting and implementing a system of public service is a major breakthrough in our country's personnel system relating to cadres. The so-called establishment of a system of public service means formulating rules and regulations for the scientific management of government personnel who exercise the administrative power of the state and perform official duties. In this sense, the process of instituting and implementing the system of public service is also a process of formulating the system of rules and regulations on public servants and putting it into effect.

The primary task of instituting and implementing the system of public service is to enact a "Law on Public Servants" and its appropriate supporting rules and regulations, to standardize the rights and duties of public servants, management procedures, and management organs in the form of laws, and to make explicit legal provisions on the various management links of public servants ranging from their "recruitment" to "retirement," such as position classification, recruitment through examination, assessment, reward and punishment, promotion and demotion, appointment and removal, training, transfer, avoidance, wages, welfare, resignation, dismissal, retirement, leaving employment, and lodging of appeals and complaints. Moreover, when enforcing these rules and regulations, we need to work out a lot of "detailed rules and regulations" or "measures" for implementation. Only when a system of rules and regulations on public servants complete with the main law, supporting rules and regulations, and detailed rules and regulations is established can the management of public servants really be put into the orbit of the legal system.

Being relatively independent in nature, the personnel system relating to enterprise cadres has close connections with the enterprise operation and management structure. This being the case, enterprises need to establish a relatively independent system of rules and regulations of their own. An enterprise is a commodity producer and handler and an independent economic entity with a strong competitive nature. As such, the personnel management system relating to enterprise cadres should embody these characteristics and introduce a competition mechanism. To establish the system of rules and regulations for personnel management relating to enterprise cadres, first of all, it is necessary to enact relatively comprehensive rules and regulations for personnel management and then, in accordance with the requirements of the system of rules and regulations and in the light of

the process of the economic structural reform, in particular, the reform of the enterprise operation and management structure, necessary to formulate corresponding supporting rules and regulations on such links and aspects as the status of enterprise operators, their selection, the management of managerial and technical personnel of internal departments of enterprises at all levels, the supervision over and check of the management of enterprise cadres and personnel administrative organs in charge of enterprise cadres and to work out a set of rules and regulations for the personnel management relating to enterprise cadres, which are commensurate with the requirements of a planned commodity economy.

There is a vast difference between the nature and personnel conditions of institutions and those of state organs and enterprises. In accordance with the requirements of managing personnel of different categories and the characteristics of personnel conditions in institutions, we should also establish a relatively independent system of rules and regulations on personnel management that can manifest these characteristics. As conditions in institutions are comparatively complicated, for example, educational, scientific, cultural, and public health institutions belong to different trades and have different functions, they should have their own personnel management systems. Moreover, certain institutions have some administrative functions, they can adopt a system similar to that of public service. Some institutions which operate on an enterprise basis, especially scientific research institutes which form associations with enterprises and scientific establishments combining scientific research and production can pursue a system similar to the personnel system relating to enterprise cadres. Therefore, when it comes to institutions, apart from the need to draft general rules and regulations on personnel management, we should work out specific management rules and regulations for different institutions according to their own conditions and characteristics. However, no matter what the rules and regulations on personnel management are, they should implement or embody the principles of openness, equality, and competition, help bring the role of various technical personnel in all trades into full play, promote the combination of science and technology with the economy, raise economic and social benefits, and help develop various undertakings.

In short, either rules and regulations on public servants, rules and regulations on the personnel management of enterprises cadres or rules and regulations on the personnel management of institutions should implement and embody the principles of stressing practical results and encouraging competition and democratic and public supervision and create conditions for promising qualified people to fully display their talents and for overcoming malpractices in the use of people.

While establishing the system of rules and regulations on personnel management, we should give consideration to establishing a system of rules and regulations for managing the size of administrative organs. The functional

scope, organic sizes, leadership posts, and the overall number of staff of administrative organs of all types and at all levels have direct, indivisible connections with personnel management work. This being the case, in a certain sense, the rules and regulations on administrative organic sizes are part and parcel of the rules and regulations on personnel management. In a certain sense, rules and regulations concerning the size of administrative organs are also part and parcel of the rules and regulations on personnel affairs. Therefore, it is necessary to regard strengthening the building of a system of rules and regulations for managing the size of administrative organs as an important task in personnel legislation.

The institution of a scientific and complete system of rules and regulations on personnel management also involves other aspects. The management system of personnel, for example, the system of managing working personnel of state organs, judicial organs, procuratorial organs, and party and mass organizations, is an important, indispensable component part of the entire system of rules and regulations on personnel management. Therefore, it is also necessary to establish a system similar to that of managing public servants through strengthening personnel legislation so as to form a complete system of rules and regulations on personnel management.

Do a Good Job in the Current Personnel Legislation Centering Around the Formulation of Rules and Regulations on Public Servants

Establishing the legal system for personnel management is a long-term, arduous task. To ensure the orderly process of personnel legislation work, efforts should be made to strengthen the overall design and planning for legislation work. Only when the needs of the personnel system reform for personnel legislation are accurately estimated can personnel legislation work be strengthened organizationally with proper guidance and according to overall planning with clear priorities. This will help make rules and regulations on personnel management in every field of endeavor more harmonious and identical and avoid them from contradicting or dislocating with each other.

At the present time, the task of our country's personnel legislation work is extremely arduous. It is, therefore, necessary to define the importance and urgency of the work according to needs and possibilities. Based on this line of thinking, we plan to spend 5 years or a little longer working out an initial legal system for personnel management. This includes the system of rules and regulations on public servants, the system of rules and regulations on managing personnel affairs relating to enterprise cadres, the system of rules and regulations on managing personnel of institutions, and the system of rules and regulations on the size and management of administrative organs. Together with the provisions of the current Constitution on personnel management and the relevant provisions of the "Organic Law of the PRC on the State

Council" and the "Organic Law of the PRC on Local People's Congresses and People's Governments at All Levels," currently in force, these rules and regulations form our country's personnel management legal system.

The first and most important task for the near future is to do a good job of the formulation and revision of the "Interim Regulations on Public Servants" and its supporting rules and regulations so as to meet the need of instituting and implementing the public service system. In 1989, the public service system will enter a stage of practice and implementation. In other words, it will be trial-implemented in a small number of judicial, procuratorial, and non-economic departments. This being the case, the establishment of the system of rules and regulations on public servants will thus become the focal point of the current personnel legislation work. Since its founding in March of last year, the Ministry of Personnel has always put the establishment of such a system on its agenda as an important task. On the basis of their 13th draft, the "Interim Regulations on Public Servants" were revised three more times and six sets of supporting rules and regulations on recruitment through examination, assessment, reward and punishment, promotion and demotion, avoidance, and discipline were also drawn up. Moreover, suggestions of principle for the wage system of public servants were laid down. The task for the next step is to further revise the "Interim Regulations on Public Servants" and the drafted six sets of supporting rules and regulations after they have been implemented on a trial basis and opinions extensively solicited and to set about drafting other supporting rules and regulations on such areas as position classification, appointment and removal, training, transfer, welfare, resignation, dismissal, retirement, and leaving employment. The "Interim Regulations on Public Servants" will be submitted to the State Council for formal approval and after having been trial-implemented for quite some time and revised, they will be submitted to the NPC for legislation. In this way, through several years of efforts, a system of rules and regulations for public servants complete with more than a dozen sets of supporting rules and regulations with the "Law on Public Servants" at the core will initially take shape.

Second, a good job should be done in the formulation of the "Interim Regulations on Managing Personnel of Industrial Enterprises Under the System of Ownership by the Whole People." Invigorating enterprises, in particular, large and medium-sized enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people, is the key link of economic structural reform. As enterprise reform keeps on deepening, managing enterprise operators according to law is becoming more and more important. To meet the need of enterprise reform for the personnel system reform, together with the department concerned, we have drafted the "Interim Regulations on Managing Personnel of Industrial Enterprises Under the System of Ownership by the Whole People" and also worked out rules and regulations on the position, treatment, and

retirement of enterprise operators and the flow of professionals and technicians in enterprises, thus gradually perfecting and improving the rules and regulations for managing personnel affairs relating to enterprise cadres and promoting the realization of the general objectives of improving the economic environment, rectifying the economic order, and deepening reform in an overall manner.

Third, close attention should be paid to the formulation of rules and regulation on the size of administrative organs. By the end of last December, departments under the State Council had roughly finished their "three fixings" work (fixing functions, organs, and sizes). To avoid repeating the previous lessons of administrative organs reswelling after being streamlined each time, we are now conducting investigations and study and actively drafting rules and regulations on the size of administrative organs so as to consolidate the results of structural reform and further promote a change in government functions. At the same time, we also plan to draw up rules and regulations for managing personnel in institutions.

Establishing a legal system for personnel management means ensuring that in personnel work there are laws to abide by and the work is carried out according to law. This is a major change in our personnel management work. In the course of this change, the vast numbers of cadres engaged in personnel work are facing the question of studying knowledge about law and enhancing their legal awareness. This being the case, in the near future, apart from concentrating forces on doing a good job in personnel legislation, we should energetically strengthen education on and give wider publicity to the legal system, run various forms of training courses, and while popularizing knowledge about law, work hard to bring up a contingent of persons specialized in personnel legislation so as to greatly accelerate the process of institutionalizing our country's personnel management.

Thoughts on the Preliminary Work in China's Public Servant System

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[Article by Gu Yunchang 7357 0061 2490 of the Research Center of the CPC Central Committee for the Reform of the Political Structure]

[Text] Establishing a state public servant system with Chinese characteristics is a matter of major concern to the whole nation from the leadership to the masses, as well as to international public opinion, in China's political restructuring. In recent years, all quarters have devoted much attention to publicizing and exploring the contents and the necessity of implementing the state public servant system. However, a matter of even greater urgency is to study how to initiate the state public

servant system and what problems are to be resolved in the course of initiating the system. To this end, I would like to air my tentative views.

The Establishment and Improvement of China's Public Servant System Is a Long-Term, Arduous Task

In establishing a state public servant system, we should use for reference the successful experiences of overseas civil service system and some scientific methods but, first of all, we should proceed from China's basic conditions. What are China's national conditions? In short, China is in the initial stage of socialism. On the one hand, we have entered the socialist society and, after several decades of construction and development, the socialist economic system based on the system of ownership of the means of production and the socialist political system of the people's democratic dictatorship have been established, the state's economic strength has grown substantially, and various scientific and cultural undertakings have developed to some extent; on the other hand, our economy is still underdeveloped, the degree of socialized production is still very low, the level of the productive forces markedly lags behind that of advanced industrialized countries, and the scientific and cultural quality of the nation as a whole is not high. These national conditions determine that it takes a fairly long time to establish a perfect state public servant system. A concrete analysis shows that there are the following three reasons:

First, implementing a state public servant system is a very complicated social engineering project. It involves many aspects of the reform of the personnel system of cadres, and the formulation and coordination of various statutes should be repeatedly tested for a long time in practice. The reform of the personnel system is a component part of the reform of the political structure. It should be suited to the major situation, and climate of political and economic restructuring. It should not be eager to overreach itself, nor should it be disjointed from each other. Political and economic restructuring is a long-term, arduous task and the establishment and perfection of the public servant system naturally cannot be accomplished in a short time.

Second, improving the quality of the state's public servants is a gradual process. This is not only related to the foundation and present conditions of our country's cadre ranks as a whole but also will eventually be determined by the improved scientific and cultural quality of the whole nation. Therefore, it is impossible to accomplish this historical task without protracted struggle.

Third, it takes most countries several decades and even longer to develop a fairly perfect civil service system. Since Britain officially established its modern civil service system in 1870 and the United States approved the "Law on Civil Service System"—i.e., the (Pentelton [peng de er dun 1756 1795 1422 7319]) Law—in 1883, more than one century has passed. France set up the civil service

management bureau (i.e., General Administration of Public Service) and founded the National Administrative College in 1945, and promulgated a unified public servant law in 1947, thus instituting a modern public servant system. About 4 decades have also passed since Japan developed its post-war public servant system by enacting the "State Public Servant Law" in 1947 and the "Local Public Servant Law" in 1950. In China we have just started our work. This, plus the fact that our economy is underdeveloped and our legal system is imperfect, makes it necessary for us to be mentally prepared for long-term efforts. With other countries' experience to go by, we are likely to take less roundabout course and spend less time. However, it is nonetheless not easy to attain this objective!

Due to the important status, as well as the complexity and protracted nature, of the state public servant system in reform of the political structure, the question of how to start is very important. If the preliminary work is done well, it will create a favorable condition for future reform. Otherwise, more haste may well end in less speed.

Some Principles To Be Observed in Instituting the State Public Service System in China

Where should we start and how should we launch the state public servant system in our country? This is not a simple procedural question because it is directly related to the progress and even the success or failure of the public servant system. As I see it, in the preliminary stage of the state public servant system, we should, in line with the basic national conditions in our country and the focus of the work of "improving the economic environment, rectifying the economic order, and deepening the reform in an all-round way" in the next 2 years, consider taking a vigorous but prudent policy in keeping with the following principles:

First, we should start from the senior administrative organs and observe the principle from the higher levels to the grass roots. The experiences gained in the institutional reform experiments conducted in 16 medium-sized cities in recent years reminds us that, on such a question of overall nature as the institutional reform, it is very difficult to make a breakthrough at the lower levels when the reform is not conducted at the higher levels. In practice there are often the following phenomena: As soon as the experimental cities make a slight move, some competent departments at the higher levels immediately step forward to interfere. They even issue documents, stipulating that the corresponding institutions of their subordinates should not be abolished and their staff should not be reduced. Or else, they will exert various pressures which include, among other things, nonapproval of projects or allocations. For this reason, the experimental cities are placed in a difficult position. They cannot but think out many ways to deal with "interference" from the higher levels. The reform of the personnel system and the establishment of the public

servant system are also a major issue involving the overall situation. If we do not start from the senior administrative organs, the difficulty of the reform is likely to be greater. Conversely, if the organs of the State Council move first and a small number of provinces and cities with ripe conditions follow suit, thus gradually launching the reform from top to bottom, the reform will probably run more smoothly.

Second, we should start with a number of departments and units provided with relatively complete conditions and observe the principle of launching the reform according to the chain of command. Since we should start the reform from top to bottom, can we simultaneously launch it in several dozen ministries and commissions of the State Council and the organs directly under the State Council? It should be noted that conditions in various ministries and commissions vary widely, that the State Council has just taken the first step in its institutional reform, and that the institutional reform in the localities has not started. Therefore, it is imperative to deepen the reform. If, before the institutions have been completely fixed, we hurriedly institutes the public servant system with the aim of relatively stabilizing personnel, it will add new difficulties and obstacles to future reforms. In this sense, institutional reform is a necessary precondition of the implementation of the public servant system. The state public servant system should be conducted at about the same time as, or a little later than, the institutional reform, but it should not be conducted ahead of the institutional reform. Therefore, when instituting the public servant system, the State Council should start in a small number of departments. These departments should seemingly have the following three conditions: First, in light of the reform direction, they belong to departments which should still be constantly strengthened and replenished in the future; second, they should have relatively complete staff whose quality is relatively high; and third, they should have clearly-defined functions and their positions are relatively easy to standardize. We can thus see that auditing, taxation, industry, commerce, customs, environmental protection, supervision, and other economic supervision and supervisory departments and some non-economic departments are more likely to take the lead in successfully instituting the public servant system and that it is better to choose some experimental units from among them. Later, when experimental provinces and cities institute the public servant system, we can also consider starting from the economic supervision and supervisory departments instead of the specialized economic management departments. The specific units may correspond to the experimental units in the State Council so as to facilitate the launching according to the chain of command and the gradual institution of the state public servant system from the part to the whole.

Third, we should start from areas where reform and opening up were conducted at an early date and observe the principle of from the coastal regions to the interior. When localities institute the state public servant system,

we should also consider the need of the economic development strategy. The progress of China's reform and opening up starts from the coastal special economic zones, the open coastal cities, and the open coastal regions like the Zhujiang delta, the Changjiang delta, and the triangular area in Southern Fujian. As far as the nation is concerned, the state public servant system should generally be instituted in this order. The practice of reform and opening up constantly present new topics and set urgent demands on the reform of the personnel system of cadres. By instituting the public servant system we can quicken the pace of the reform of the personnel system in the coastal areas. This will be conducive to economic restructuring and the progress of the economic development strategy. Naturally, when launching the reform from the coastal areas to the interior, we should not exclude the possibility of some cities in the interior experimenting on comprehensive reform or institutional reform ahead of other areas in the interior.

Fourth, we should start from the link of employing public servants through examination and observe the principle of first paying attention to personnel recruitment. The above-mentioned principles refer to the implementation of the public servant system in a coordinated way. As far as the links of the state public servant system are concerned, such as the employment of public servants through examination, we can also break away from these principles and universally implement them within certain limits. An analysis of the present conditions shows that we are already provided with this condition, and the relevant departments have issued circulars about this. In the future, we should invariably apply the method of employment through examination toward personnel wishing to join the state administrative organs, implement a competitive principle based on fairness, equality, democracy, and selection for employment according to requirement, absorb outstanding people in society, and ensure the quality new personnel in order to lay the groundwork for the gradual coordinated implementation of the public servant system. Naturally, prior to this, it is necessary to work out a plan on such issues as the examination institutions, contents, forms, and methods which can be specifically implemented. It can be imagined that if, while making preparations for the implementation of the state public servant system in the next few years, we employ a large number of unqualified personnel, it will be more difficult to implement this system.

In the Preliminary Stage of China's Public Servant System, We Should Focus on Grasping Experimental Work Well

In the preliminary stage of China's public servant system, there is a lot of work to be done, such as continuously having a firm grasp on legislation, making preparations for the establishment of the state administrative institute, and studying the methods for ensuring sound "employment of public servants" and the transition of the existing government functionaries. What is the focus

of our work? As I see it, we should attach importance to practice and explorations and grasp well experimental work. They have three advantages:

First, this will make it easier to improve legislation through experiment. In fact, legislation on China's public servant system started as far back as in November 1984. At that time, in keeping with the instruction of a central leading comrade on firmly grasping the formulation of a regulation on public servants, the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee and the former Ministry of Labor and Personnel called together people from various quarters, including experts and academics from some universities, colleges, and research institutes and drafted the "Law on Government Functionaries" (First Draft) in early 1985. Later, after repeated solicitations of opinion and after revising it 16 times, the original "Law on Government Functionaries" was respectively changed into the "Regulations on Government Functionaries," "Regulations on Working Personnel in State Administrative Organs," "Regulations on State Public Servants," and the present "Provisional Regulations on State Public Servants." It should be said that we have spent 4 years and great efforts in the formulating the state public servant system and that we are already provided with a certain foundation. Under this condition, it is even more necessary to further revise and improve the regulation in coordination with practice. Only through small-scale practical experiments is it possible to more satisfactorily discover and expose contradictions and, in the process of solving the contradictions, revise the regulation and improve the legislation. In this sense, the actual start of China's public servant system is indicated by the start of experiments rather than the start of legislation.

Second, this will make it easier to promote supporting reforms through experiment. In implementing the state public servant system, it is not enough to have only a basic statute. Moreover, this statute has been laid down in principle. The specific implementation and operations of the public servant system should be supplemented by experience from various management links. It is necessary to establish a complete legal system which takes the basic statute as the nucleus and which includes a dozen or so supporting rules and regulations. Following its establishment, the Ministry of Personnel, while continuously revising the regulation, has initially worked out the first batch of urgently needed supporting rules and regulations, such as employment through examination, assessment, rewards and punishments, promotions and demotions, avoidance, and discipline. Through experiments conducted in some areas we can make these rules and regulations more applicable and, on this basis, sum up experience, work out the second and third batches of supporting rules and regulations, and then achieve the objectives of supporting reforms.

Third, this will make it easier for us to explore the experience of personnel transition through experiments. In the initial stage of the public servant system, a very

complicated problem is how to make a transition from the present government functionaries to the state public servants. In the early days of implementing the civil service system, all countries in the world have faced similar problems. Whether or not we can make a smooth transition is a primary factor conditioning the implementation of the public servant system. In solving the transition of existing personnel, we should: First, conduct institutional reform. We should change the functions, decentralize power, readjust institutions, and define job responsibilities. Second, assess and train the existing personnel, to whom we should not adopt the method of recruiting through examination, nor should we let things slide and retain them altogether. It is necessary to optimize formation and raise quality in light of different conditions and the requirements of job responsibilities and through necessary assessments (including examinations) and training. In short, in the transition stage, we should uphold the principle of adopting new methods toward new people and making a gradual transition to the new methods with regard to old people, and explore experience through experiments in order to create favorable conditions for expanding the scale of the public servant system in the future.

To this end, experimental units should assume proper responsibilities. At present, a small number of localities and units, which call for a trial implementation of the public servant system, set their eyes on raising the pay and relaxing the contradiction caused by the excessive low pay of office workers instead of putting in a lot of time and energy on how to take this as a favorable opportunity to further define job responsibilities and raise personnel quality and personnel efficiency. In implementing the state public servant system, while exercising strict management according to the law, we also face the question of properly readjusting the pay of public servants. However, this must be based on employment through examination, streamlining, optimization, and the raising of quality. Experimental units should conscientiously sum up successful experiments in this respect, strive to solve well the question of transition for existing personnel, and prevent the reform from going through the motion.

Naturally, it is not easy to institute the state public servant system in a country like ours, which has gone through a feudal society for several thousand years. Therefore, we should strive to spend 5 years or a little longer to develop the basic frame of China's public servant system, to develop an irreversible trend for the reform, and to create a favorable reform basis and social environment for the implementation of the public servant system. If we can use 5 or 6 years to initially establish, on the basis of experiments, a complete legal system on public servants, with the "State Public Servant Law" as the nucleus, run well the state administrative institute, make preparations to set up a number of local administrative institutes, and implement the public servant system groups by groups in the ministries and commissions of the State Council and in the government

organs of some provinces and cities in order to explore a feasible method for the transition of existing personnel, the implementation and popularization of the entire state public servant system will have a solid basis.

Several Ideas on Historiographical Work

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in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 89 pp 24-25

[Article by Zhou Gucheng 0719 6253 1004]

[Text] During the time of the Spring Festival this year, I was in Shanghai and it happened that at the time the Shanghai Historical Society was holding a meeting to sum up work experiences over the last year and to make plans for work in the year to come. As I was one of the founders of the Shanghai Historical Society, I was invited to participate in the meeting. During the meeting I put forward the following few ideas.

A. Historiographical work has been carried out well, but there are an increasing number of tasks to be handled. 1. In 1949, not long after the motherland had been liberated, Guo Moruo and Hou Wailu urged me to establish an historical society in Shanghai, and wanted to include the historiographical workers in Nanjing, Hangzhou and Suzhou within the Shanghai Historical Society. At that time, I arranged for about 10-plus initial members. They all proposed that the qualifications for joining the society be raised and that anyone who joined the society be required to have a post of lecturer or above, have published a specialized work and be a specialist in history. Because of these restraints, the membership of the society grew very slowly. This was a major drawback, but it did play some role in raising academic standards. 2. Today, it is very different. The membership has grown from a few dozen to over 800 and this is a great advance. But the things which have to be done are also more numerous: First, the academic level needs to be raised and second, research into world history need to be strengthened. It has been said that the study of world history requires the establishment of another society. This is worth exploring. However, those persons who remain in this society must also carry out research into world history.

B. The historiographical circles would do well to pay attention to the so-called "ecological equilibrium" principle. 1. Ecological equilibrium is an ancient Greek term with the original meaning of stressing a balanced relationship between living things and the environment. Later, more people came to use the term, and now ecological equilibrium is frequently referred to in anthropology, sociology, politics, historiography and cultural studies. 2. Very recently, a U.S. scholar wrote a history of the development of science and technology and in this he noted that all processes of cultural development are processes of ecological equilibrium. In various senses, this view is not completely wrong. 3. A few decades ago, I wrote a book called *The Systems of Life* and it was published in 1924 by Commercial Press. The entire book was concerned with the harmonizing of the relationship between man and the

environment. However, my point of emphasis throughout was opposition to the mechanical division of knowledge, emotion and will in the psychology of the structuralist school. It was only several years ago when talking with Mr Zhe Guangqian [2612 0342 3383] about aesthetic questions that I revealed the meaning of the work. The example I gave was that when listening to a mathematics class, it would be absolutely intolerable and impossible to, on the one hand, be knitting and on the other hand to be reading a novel, thereby dividing one's mind into three separate areas concerned respectively with mathematics, the novel and the novel. The focus of my work was thus and although I greatly stressed the harmonization of the relationship between man and his environment, it did not necessarily have anything to do with ecological equilibrium. However, it would be of great advantage for our historiographical workers to pay some attention to the principle of ecological equilibrium. Our Constitution also mentions ecological equilibrium, and it has been advocated that we should plant trees in the North-west so that the winds and the sand do not completely bury the motherland's ancient and modern culture. This can be said to have something to do with the process of cultural development.

C. A flexible attitude should be adopted in respect of the categorization of sciences. 1. The famous French philosopher Descartes once expressed a concise opinion on the material and the spiritual, noting that the material had the expansion of space as its characteristic, while the spiritual had the extension of time as its characteristic. Actually this is not very convincing. If the material only has expansion in space and does not have extension in time, it cannot be considered to exist. If the spiritual only has extension in time and does not have expansion in space, it likewise cannot be considered to exist. If both have expansion in space and extension in time, then there is no difference between the two. 2. However, the academic circles seem to have no doubts about this and rely on this for deciding the categorization of science, that is between the spiritual and the material sciences, between the humanities and the physical sciences, or between the natural sciences and the social sciences, or between the arts and the sciences. In fact it is not a simple matter to differentiate the arts from the sciences. Mr Chen Wangdao [7115 2598 6670] frequently opposed the stress placed on science and the lack of attention paid to the arts in Fudan University and often said that stressing the arts did not mean slighting the sciences. 3. Now the situation has changed somewhat, but the trend to stress science and pay lesser attention to the arts is still very serious. When Fudan University purchases foreign language books or magazines, there is often a struggle to obtain funds. I have always felt that categorization is possible and even necessary, but have always felt that this should be treated in a flexible way. Last year, when attending the annual meeting of the Pacific History Society of China in Dalian, I officially put forward the idea that if we insist on seeing the

division between the social sciences and the natural sciences as something which cannot be transgressed, it will create obstacles to our pursuit of knowledge.

D. At the same time as stressing the use of dictionaries, we certainly must not forget to read texts. The categorization of sciences must be done flexibly, but we absolutely cannot mix the use of reference books with the reading of texts. 1. At present in the academic circles there is a trend where everyone is busy compiling reference books and there are more and more dictionaries and encyclopaedias being produced. Such reference books are necessary and as we produced too few in the past those which are now being compiled are making up the deficit. They provide people with ease of reference and are very useful for solving problems. Place-name dictionaries, personal-name dictionaries, historical dictionaries, encyclopaedias and so on are all useful and are quite easy to edit. 2. However, dictionaries and various types of encyclopaedias are all but reference books. They can only be used to look things up and cannot be used to read. For example, Chinese and foreign history dictionaries or encyclopaedias are very useful and people with a basic historical knowledge can, if they come across a term or event with which they are unfamiliar, look up an encyclopaedia or dictionary and thus save much time. However, such reference books regardless of how much use they are, cannot replace books which are intended as texts. All university, middle-school and primary students, their teachers and cadres of organs as well as people engaged in industry, agriculture, commerce, academic activities, and the military need to study some basic historical knowledge in order to increase their patriotic zeal. The encyclopedias and historical dictionaries cannot replace the texts they need for this. 3. Thus, at the same time as we compile historical dictionaries and encyclopaedias, we need to compile some quite complete and systematic historical works which can be used as reading materials by people.

E. As to the question of China's science and technology lagging behind that of the West in modern times, I also have some opinions. 1. Mr Needham of Britain has said that China was formerly a leader in the development of science and technology, but that after the Ming and Qing dynasties it dropped behind. What was the reason for this? There are different opinions on this. 2. Some people say that it was due to the exclusion of foreigners. This can be considered a factor, but it was not the most important reason, and the exclusion of foreigners can be seen to have had only a very limited role. For example, during the medieval period, there were people high and low, within and outside the court who tried to exclude Buddhism, but still Buddhism flourished in China. Also in the case of Christianity, there were people high and low, within and outside the court, who opposed it, and yet Christianity flourished in China. As to science and technology, during the Kangxi reign, it was greatly welcomed. However, there were also some who rejected it and although they were not as many as those who opposed Buddhism or Christianity, they were able to exclude it. 3. A more precise reason was

that because the industrial revolution had not been successful, social production was backward and thus in the society there was no breeding ground for the flourishing development of science and technology. After the industrial revolution in England in the middle of the 18th century, science and technology saw associated development. Some other countries were influenced by this and their science and technology also saw development. Thus, they became advanced and we became clearly backward. If they did not advance, we would not be backward. Today, we are engaged in opening up, drawing in, reform, enlivening and greatly developing production. The demands on science and technology have grown swiftly and not only has there been the import of a great amount of technology from advanced countries, but we have also daily seen pleasing achievements and discoveries of our own. Today China is putting great efforts into replacing manual production with machines and scientific and technological experts have much scope to show their skills. It can be seen that as progress in social production requires science and technology, science and technology will certainly see development. Need is the mother of invention and need can stimulate discovery and creation. Need is also a congealing force, and sooner or later it will stimulate vibrant activity by scientists and technicians in China.

On Comprehensively Linking the Total Amount of Wages of Localities, Departments, and Enterprises with Economic Results
HK1205120189 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 89 pp 26-30

[Article by Wang Zhihong 3076 1807 3163 and Xin Changxing 0207 7022 2502]

[Text] **A. Comprehensively Linking: The Only Choice for Deepening the Wage Reform of Enterprises**

If one looks at an overall survey of the wage reform of enterprises, one can see that the most remarkable phenomenon is the "dual structure" of the enterprises' wage system: it is really surprising that two different enterprise wage systems exist side by side under the same ownership system in the same period. On the one hand, the enterprises that have introduced the system of comprehensively linking the total amount of wages with economic results (hereinafter called pilot project enterprises) have eradicated the old practice of "eating from the same big pot." They have developed their own systems which closely link the workers' wages with the enterprise's economic results and which quite strongly reflect the identity of enterprises as relatively independent commodity producers. On the other hand, for those enterprises that have not yet introduced the comprehensive linking system (hereinafter called general enterprises), the total amount of basic salaries is subject to the state's unified control, only the portion of bonuses which is drawn from the profit retention of the enterprise is partially linked with the enterprise's economic results.

But the bonuses are only a minor part as compared with the enterprise's wage payment, and this implies that general enterprises have not yet completely free from the disadvantages of the old system of "eating from the same big pot."

The existence of the "dual structure" regarding the enterprise wage system has given rise to a series of problems: 1) Pilot project enterprises and general enterprises exist side by side and there are more general enterprises than pilot project enterprises—a fact that greatly limits the spreading of the positive influence of the reform to introduce the comprehensive linking system. 2) The existence of general enterprises has forced the state to continue to use the "uniform" wage adjustment method within a certain scope so as to ensure an overall increase in the wage level in these enterprises. This has produced new egalitarian effects which may counteract the benefits that the reform has brought about. 3) As the state effects overall wage and allowance increase and implements other preferential policies toward general enterprises, this will inevitably encourage the workers in pilot project enterprises to compare with their counterparts in general enterprises and to seek extra benefits other than the wages that are paid according to the economic results. If they do not get the extra benefits, they may nurse grievances against the unfair treatment, and that may to a certain extent spoil the social psychological environment for the reform. And if they gain the extra benefits, it may have an unexpected impact on the established internal distribution system in these enterprises, which is unfavorable to the exercise of the enterprise's decisionmaking power regarding internal distribution. 4) Although overall wage and allowance increases and other policies that the state applies to general enterprises have produced the social effect of pacifying workers of these enterprises, they have at the same time convinced these enterprises of the value of the practice of "eating from the same big pot" and thus discouraged them from introducing the reform of comprehensively linking the total amount of wages with economic results. 5) The existence of general enterprises leads to a very strong dependent mentality on the part of pilot project enterprises. Once pilot project enterprises fail to improve their economic results because of one reason or another, they may ask for withdrawal from the pilot project and resume the system of "eating from the same big pot." So enterprises will feel no pressure forcing them to make up their mind to initiate the wage reform under difficult circumstances.

The only way to resolve the above problems is to introduce the comprehensive linking system on a full scale and to extricate enterprises from the predicament due to the coexistence of two modes. And this is exactly the major goal of the in-depth development of the enterprise wage reform. How are we going to fulfill this goal? Apparently we can hardly achieve it if we rely on the existing administrative structure. The most important reason why the pilot project could be initiated in few enterprises at the previous stage was because the highly

centralized wage management system could not suit the needs of the comprehensive linking system. In order to deepen the enterprise wage reform, it is necessary to eliminate the incompatibility between the wage administrative structure and the comprehensive linking system. In light of the realities in China—its immense area, the large number of enterprises, and the great variety of enterprises in terms of their nature and scale, it is necessary to apply a level-by-level wage administrative structure, and to hand over the specific duties relating to the enterprise wage reform, as well as the power, to local governments or central industrial departments.

During the transition period, the best option to introduce the level-by-level wage administrative system in enterprises is the adoption of the system of comprehensively linking the total amount of wages with economic results by local governments or central industrial departments as ordered by the state. First of all, after the comprehensive linking system is implemented, it will actually serve as a motive force and pressure on local governments and central industrial departments, forcing them to give up the passive laissez-faire practice and urging their subordinate enterprises to adopt one by one the system of linking wages with returns. Second, the implementation of the comprehensive linking system will encourage invention and implementation of various forms of linking methods. This will help us solve the existing conspicuous problem regarding the unitary form of the linking system and thus effectively attract more enterprises to implement the linking system. Third, the implementation of the comprehensive linking system can help strengthen the macroeconomic control over wage funds. Suppose the comprehensive linking system is implemented, since the state has fixed a wage growth rate for localities, the central authorities' duty regarding macroeconomic control will be confined to controlling and supervising the growth rate of the total amount of wages of localities, while the specific duty to regulate pay raise within a locality will be taken over by the local authorities concerned. So we will be able to effectively prevent the loss of control over wage funds. In brief, the introduction of the system of comprehensively linking the total amount of wages of enterprises in a locality and sector with their economic results is an inevitable choice to be made in the in-depth development of the enterprise wage reform. If the establishment of the system of comprehensively linking the total amount of an enterprise's wages with its economic results brings about the first breakthrough in the process of the enterprise wage reform, then the introduction of the reform program that links the total amount of wages of all the enterprises in an area or sector with their economic results will make a powerful impact on the existing outmoded wage administrative structure which does suit the comprehensive linking system. In consequence, this will lead to the replacement of the old structure by the new level-by-level administrative structure and will make the second breakthrough in the process of the enterprise wage reform, thus push the enterprise wage reform to develop into a new stage.

B. The Comparison and Selection of Indicators of Economic Returns

In implementing the system of comprehensively linking the total amount of wages of enterprises in a locality and sector with their economic results, the first problem that must be solved is the selection of indicators of economic returns. Here below we would like to analyze and compare several optional indicators of economic returns, and to present our biased to localities and sectors for reference in selecting economic indicators.

1. Taxes and Profits Turned Over to the State

The amount of taxes and profits turned over to the state as an indicator of economic returns has the following advantages: (1) It is easier to handle the relations of interests between the state, the enterprise, and the workers. In general, so long as the portion of the total amount of wages that floats with the amount of taxes and profits turned over to the state is reasonably fixed, it will be able to ensure both a reasonable increase in the workers' wages and a stable growth in the state's financial revenue. By the way, this indicator basically can fit in with the present financial structure. (2) By linking the total amount of wages of a locality with the amount of taxes and profits turned over to the state, we can push the locality to use the amount of turned-over taxes and profits as a principal indicator to evaluate the performance of its subordinate enterprises. This is in keeping, both in spirit and practice, with the contracted responsibility for management of the enterprise that is currently implemented. (3) It can push the enterprise to improve management, raise the output, upgrade product quality, reduce production costs, and increase economic returns. (4) This indicator can be easily measured and analyzed, and will have little impact on the existing system of financial accounting and the system of statistical report. (5) And most of the pilot project for the implementation of the comprehensive linking system that have been launched since 1985 adopt the tax and profit indicator. Rich experience has been accumulated in the past few years, sound policies and measures have been worked out, and the public can easily get access to information about the implementation of the system.

However, the practice of linking the turned-over tax and profit indicator with the total amount of wages also has some conspicuous shortcomings, theoretically or practically. (1) Theoretically speaking, the practice of linking the turned-over tax and profit indicator with the total amount of wages has reversed the normal distribution sequence. Although both the wages and the turned-over taxes and profits are part of the created value, they respectively belong to two different categories, namely, the necessary labor and surplus labor. If the wages are linked with the turned-over taxes and profits, then the increase in the wages will be determined by the amount of taxes and profits turned over to the state. This implies that the amount of a part of the created value will determine the amount of another part of it. To put it

more precisely, this means that the amount of surplus labor will determine the amount of necessary labor. Obviously this reversed distribution sequence is unfavorable to the establishment of a rational commodity economy operational mechanism. (2) The turned-over tax and profit indicator cannot comprehensively reflect the overall economic efficiency of a locality, and it is disadvantageous to the locality's efforts to timely adjust its industrial structure to meet the needs of social economic development. (3) When a locality adopts the system of linking the turned-over tax and profit indicator with the total amount of wages, administrative intervention may force the locality to place undue stress on the state's interests. On the other hand, in pursuit of the optimization of the workers' wages, enterprises would try to pay as much tax as they could or they would not even accept the state's tax reduction and exemption policy. So, although the state can be assured of its financial revenue and the workers can get more income, the enterprises' interests will be infringed upon to a certain extent. This will affect technological transformation and expanded reproduction on the part of enterprises and will after all infringe upon both the state's and the workers' long-term interests. (4) As the turned-over tax and profit indicator is heavily affected by the state's financial and taxation policies, substantial readjustment has to be made in fixing the base figure and in rendering final accounts. This will make the work more difficult and offer the locality and the enterprise an opportunity to bargain with the state. (5) Since the economic development level varies from area to area, and enterprises in different areas possess varying amount of funds, different equipment, and different resources, the profit making ability varies greatly from area to area and from enterprise to enterprise, and there is a considerable gap between them in the amount of taxes and profits turned over to the state. Now that we still have not found an effective method to eliminate the influence of difference in income between areas and between enterprises on the workers' personal income, if the system of linking the total amount of wages with the amount of turned-over tax and profit indicator on a full scale, it may give rise to an unreasonable income gap between different areas, between different sectors, and between different enterprises, and thus produce new social problems regarding unfair distribution.

2. Realized Taxes and Profits

The realized taxes and profits comprise the taxes paid and profits earned by all state-owned enterprises of an area or a sector. As compared with the turned-over tax and profit indicator, the realized taxes and profits as an indicator can more comprehensively reflect the state-owned enterprise's basic attribute that their means of production belong to the whole people. This indicator represents the demand for growth in the value of state assets both on the part of the state and the enterprise. The realized tax and profit indicator not only involves the state's financial revenue but also the funds that the enterprise retains for self-development. Therefore, this

indicator can more expressly reflect the nature and objectives of state-owned enterprises, and thus can be selected as a comprehensive indicator for the measurement of the economic returns of state-owned enterprises. By introducing the system of comprehensively linking the total amount of wages of an area or sector with its realized taxes and profits, we can push local governments or central industrial departments to give consideration to both the state's financial revenue and the enterprise's self-development while exercising macroeconomic control, and this will help to prevent short-term behaviors on the part of the enterprise, step up the technological transformation of the enterprise, and increase the enterprise's potential for further development. And the prosperity of the enterprise will in its turn bring about a higher increase in the interests of the state, the enterprise, and the workers. Thus a benign cycle will take shape. In addition, the realized tax and profit indicator has the same advantages as those of the turned-over tax and profit indicator—it will not make great impact on the financial accounting and statistical systems, and it provides a more accurate and reliable basis for calculation and analysis.

Of course, the realized tax and profit indicator also has some disadvantages. The primary disadvantage is that this indicator is less binding upon areas and sectors in terms of the guarantee of the state's financial revenue. Also, the practice that bonuses are counted as part of production costs after the implementation of the comprehensive linking system in areas and sectors may condition the total amount of realized taxes and profits and the amount of the enterprise's profit retention. So one will need to readjust each enterprise's regulatory business tax rate and its energy and communications funds earning plan, and this will involve quite complicated procedures when fixing some base figures for the comprehensive linking system.

3. National Income

Here the national income consists of the net output value of all the state-owned industrial, commercial, building industry, and communication and transport enterprises subordinate to a certain area, excluding the net output value of agricultural enterprises as well as the net output value contributed by collective enterprises and individual laborers.

The advantages of the system of linking the total amount of wages of an area with the national income indicator are as follows: (1) This system conforms with the general law of pay raise, since the wage level always determines the increase in the national income. (2) It can help us to properly handle the proportional relations between accumulations and consumption. So long as an appropriate floating wage ratio is set, we can basically ensure that the wage fund and the national income will increase proportionally and that the imbalance between the aggregate supply and demand will be eased. (3) As the national income indicator represents the economic strength and

development level of an area, it is a comprehensive indicator to be used in evaluating the area's economic returns. (4) This indicator can help the enterprise to reach its goal of wage reform. In order to ensure that the wage level will float along with the national income level, the state's macroeconomic regulation of wages must shift from the direct control mode to the indirect control mode.

The main shortcoming of the national income indicator is that this indicator is still less binding on areas and sectors than the realized tax and profit indicator in terms of the guarantee of the state's financial revenue. For the present, except for industrial enterprises, the statistical means to measure the net output value of commercial, building industry, and communications and transport enterprises are pretty outmoded, which implies errors in the statistical outcome.

4. The GNP

The positive significance of the selection of the corresponding GNP as an indicator of economic returns lies in that: 1) It suits our country's strategic target with regard to economic development. The application of the method of allowing the total amount of wages to be linked and float with the corresponding GNP actually means to use the wage lever to bring the initiative of the locality, the enterprise, and the individual into play. It is an important step toward the accomplishment of the strategic goal of quadrupling China's GNP by the turn of the century. (2) As the GNP indicator can comprehensively reflect the conditions of all aspects of economic construction and social development of an area, this indicator has a still broader coverage than the national income indicator. The disadvantage of the GNP indicator is that it involves more difficult statistical procedures than the national income indicator does. Statistical work in this field is very weak at present, and the historical statistical information that is needed for comparison and analysis is not available. All these present great difficulties to the application of this indicator.

5. The Quantity of Goods Produced or Work Done

When implementing the system of comprehensively linking the enterprise's total amount of wages with its economic returns, some industrial sectors (such as coal industry and railway transport service) can choose the quantity of goods produced or work done as an indicator of economic returns. The advantages of this kind of indicators are as follows: (1) They can be easily measured and can thus easily bring the initiative of the sector, the enterprise, and the workers into play. (2) It is easy to introduce this kind of indicators since they can be easily calculated. (3) They can help increase the supply of some goods that are in short supply. The disadvantages are that they are not applicable to a wide range of sectors but

to only a few; and that they may induce people to blindly seek an increase in the absolute amount of goods produced or work done but overlook the quality of goods or work.

Based on the above analysis, we hold that when implementing the system of comprehensively linking the total amount of wages of the enterprise with its economic returns in an area or a sector, the turned-over tax and profit indicator is apparently not a comprehensive indicator to be chosen. It is not suitable to extensively introduce this indicator particularly because it cannot be readily accepted by various areas. The net output value indicator is acceptable but can hardly be widely introduced for the time being because of the many difficulties in statistical work and calculation. The GNP indicator involves still greater difficulties in practical application and, therefore, it should only be introduced in a few large cities on a trial basis. As for the quantity of goods produced and work done as an indicator of economic returns, it is applicable to only a small number of industrial sectors. Therefore, for the time being, the realized tax and profit indicator could be a feasible choice. In the wake of the in-depth development of the reform and especially the improvement of statistical work, areas and sectors can gradually give up the realized tax and profit indicator but take up the national income indicator. But, in view of the different circumstances in different areas and sectors, one should take the special conditions of one's own area and sector into consideration when choosing an indicator of economic returns. One should carefully compare and analyze different indicators before making the optimal choice.

In order to prevent areas and sectors which are implementing the comprehensive linking system from placing undue stress on the growth in terms of major indicators while overlooking other indicators of economic returns and other technical and economic indicators, it is necessary to also consider other indicators beside major indicators and to appropriately give rewards and penalties in light of overall performance. Except the indicators mentioned above, other indicators include: (1) the quality indicator; (2) the energy and raw material consumption indicator; (3) the labor productivity indicator; 4) the industrial safety indicator; and so on.

C. Several Major Questions That Merit Attention in Fixing the Base Figures for Wages and Indicators and the Floating Wage Ratio

After the indicators of economic returns are selected, the next problem that must be dealt with is to fix the base figures for wages and indicators and the floating wage ratio. This is another basic task that must be accomplished in introducing the comprehensive linking system, and the fixing of the base figures is particularly important. According to the experience of some enterprises that have conducted pilot projects of the comprehensive linking system over the past few years, the base figures have more remarkable influence than the floating

wage ratio on the effect of macroeconomic control. Furthermore, if too many increment factors are taken into account when the base figure for the total amount of wages is fixed, the base figure will usually be higher than the record of the base year by 5 to 10 percent or even more, while the base figure for economic results is usually equivalent to or lower than the record of the base year. So, as long as the enterprise manages to keep up its economic results, it will obtain a considerable amount of newly increased wages. The consequence could be more serious if too relaxed criteria are applied when fixing the base figure for the total amount of wages of an area or sector. It is very likely that the wage fund of an area or sector increases ahead of time although there is no marked increase in its economic returns. This is a case that must be avoided when introducing the comprehensively linking system.

The people's governments and competent departments of all provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions assume important responsibility for calculating and fixing the two base figures. According to the general procedures, the state government is responsible for approval of the base figures for all the provinces, municipalities directly under the central government, autonomous regions, cities that are separately listed in the state plan, and central industrial departments concerned, while local authorities and departments are responsible for approval of the base figures for cities or enterprises that are under their jurisdiction. In order to prevent possible loopholes, departments at different levels are required to do their duties and keep strict control in the process of approval.

The floating wage ratio will directly determine the amount of wage increase after the comprehensive linking system is implemented. The major principles that must be followed in fixing the floating wage ratio are as follows:

First, the average growth rate of the total amount of wages should be lower than that of the national income, and the growth rate of the workers' average wages should be lower than that of the labor productivity. On this premise a reasonable increase in the workers' wages along with the improvement of economic returns can be ensured.

Second, it is necessary to compare the corresponding indicators of economic results of different areas and sectors, such as the per-capita amount of taxes and profits, the wage-to-tax and profit ratio, the capital-to-tax and profit ratio, the labor productivity, and so on. The areas and sectors with higher comprehensive economic returns should have their floating wage ratio appropriately raised, while other areas and sectors may have a lower floating wage ratio. But the gap between them should be kept within a certain limit lest there be a wide gap in income between different areas and between different sectors.

Third, it is necessary to consider the potential for economic development of different areas and sectors. Here the term potential means the possible extent of improvement of economic returns. It is affected by two factors, the first being the enterprise's efforts to enhance its management standard, to lower consumption, and to increase efficiency; and the second being the amount of investment to be made in technological transformation and capital construction during the year in question. As the increase in the economic returns due to the first factor is completely the result of the efforts of the area (or sector), the enterprise, and the workers, it should not be deducted from the floating wage ratio. As for the potential resulting from the second factor, since part of it arises from investments by the state, this part should be appropriately deducted from the floating wage ratio.

Fourth, it is necessary to differentiate cases from cases according to different indicators of economic returns. Surveys and analyses show that different indicators of economic returns involve varying degree of difficulty and may result in very different growth rates. Therefore, in order to maintain an overall balance in pay raise between different areas and between different sectors and to ensure that wage funds will increase in a balanced manner at a speed that matches the growth in economic returns, it is necessary to fix different floating wage ratios in accordance with different indicators of economic returns. Generally speaking, for the areas and sectors that choose the national income indicator, the floating wage ratio can be slightly lower; as for those which choose to link their total amount of wages with the turned-over tax and profit indicator or with the realized tax and profit indicator, the floating wage ratio can be slightly higher.

The above discussion is only on the general principles. In practice, all areas and sectors should, in general, base their calculation and analysis on the actual data on the relative change in the total amount of wages and the economic returns in their areas and sectors since 1980; and they should suggest their floating wage ratio in light of these data. It is believed that such a procedure is practical. However, one should also note the following factors: (1) Changes in the area's economic structure and in the enterprise's personnel structure may make impact on the floating wage ratio during the year in question. (2) The pay raise during the sixth 5-year plan was of a retroactive nature. In fact the pay raise in several years of that period exceeded the production growth. Therefore, when fixing the floating wage ratio, this factor should be taken into account so as to ensure a normal wage increase. (3) One must not only make a vertical comparison within one's own area or sector but must also compare one's own area or sector with the country's average standards and with the level of other areas or sectors. (4) One must fully estimate the potential of one's own area or sector in economic growth after the implementation of the comprehensive linking system. By and large, it is necessary to allow a reasonable and moderate extent of growth in wages by fixing a reasonable floating

wage ratio, so that the role of the wages as an economic lever and the initiative on the part of areas, sectors, enterprises, and workers will be brought into full play. In the meantime, it is also necessary to exert pressure on areas and sectors, with a view to fully tapping the potential of all aspects, unremittingly improving the economic returns, and paving the way for the development of a benign cycle of national economy in terms of the distribution of wages.

Awakening of Rationality: Reviewing Cultural Discussions in China in Recent Years
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[Article by Li Xiaobing 2621 1420 0365]

[Text] Results and Significance of the Discussion on the Chinese Culture in Recent Years

In the final analysis, the discussion on the Chinese culture in the past few years represented an ideological and theoretical movement oriented to the political reforms and based on economic development through the retrospective academic studies of China's traditional culture. This discussion involved many branches of learning, including philosophy, history, literature, economics, and politics. The development of culturology per se was not the main subject in this discussion, nor was the discussion focused on some specific theoretical and academic issues. The discussion was in fact focused on the political and economic aspects of the modernization process. So, the results and significance of the discussion on the Chinese culture should not be limited to the academic field. It should be noticed that the basic purpose of this discussion was to provide certain utilitarian theoretical premises and foundations for the development of the modernization process in the political and economic aspects. From this perspective, we may summarize the results of significance of this discussion into the following points:

First, the discussion on China's culture maintained the momentum of mental emancipation after the discussion on the criterion for testing truth and a series of other theoretical discussions. After the discussion on the criterion for testing truth, although there were a series of theoretical discussions, their influence was not as obvious as that of the discussion on the culture, which touched the general conditions for the existence and development of the Chinese nation. In the cultural discussion, the criticism of the cultural-psychological structure of the Chinese nation played the same role in promoting the Chinese nation's consideration of its own conditions for development as the criticism of the political ideas in the discussion on the criterion for testing truth.

Second, the comparative studies of the Chinese and foreign cultures not only enabled the Chinese people to better understand the world, but also to more clearly

perceive their own conditions. The cultural discussion in recent years represented China's effort to renew its understanding of the outside world through the most advanced means of mass media in modern history. The Chinese people are no longer unfamiliar with foreign scenes and foreign things; moreover, they have also gradually understood foreign cultures.

Third, the critical examination of the traditional culture, at least to a certain degree, enabled us to notice some limitations of our nation in the course of modernization. The critical examination of the traditional culture was not an accidental phenomenon but was an inevitable result of the reform and opening up process. It brought a major psychological shock to a society which highly valued its time-honored cultural tradition and prompted it to think: Should it transcend the tradition or stick to the tradition? This is a question like that for Hamlet: "To be or not to be?" In a bit radical or exaggerative way, this increased our nation's sense of self-examination.

Fourth, the cultural discussion prompted the entire society to reassess the connotation of "modernization," and this was of great significance in social enlightenment. In the discussion, such concepts as "civilization," "tradition," and "modernization" were redefined to a large extent. Correspondingly, such concepts as "democracy," "freedom," "equality," and "commodity economy" were made known to all people. As compared with such old concepts as "class," "struggle," and "revolution," which had a great impact on the Chinese society in the past, the cultural discussion has introduced a brand new theoretical framework which includes many new concepts to the Chinese people, thus instilling new spiritual vigor to modernization and the commodity economy.

Fifth, the cultural discussion gave prominence to the significance of cultural development and the conceptional change in social development and in the social process. This aroused people's attention to their mentality in the process of modernization. Modernization should first be people's modernization, which means that people's theoretical framework, psychological condition, and behavior should all be "modernized" on the basis of critically inheriting the tradition. The discussion on China's culture in recent years has played a big role in prompting people to form modern conceptions and ideas.

Sixth, the discussion on China's culture further advanced the mainstream of China's cultural development in the past 100 years, and again put forth the tasks for China's social and cultural development which were first put forth during the May Fourth Movement. The two major themes of the May Fourth Movement, that is, patriotism-national salvation and science-democracy were mentioned again and again in the cultural discussion in recent years, and were turned into some concrete

requirements in the practice of the economic and political structural reforms and the construction of democracy and the legal system. This made it an inseparable part of the Chinese nation's bloody struggle and China's social movement in the past nearly 100 years.

The Problems and Difficulties That the Cultural Discussion Faced

While noticing the theoretical achievements and practical significance of the cultural discussion, we must also admit that many shortcomings of this discussion have been exposed. The main problems are as follows:

First, the cultural discussion was limited to some intellectual elite, and its emergence and its ebb were related to the changing feelings of some Chinese intellectuals. When the reform situation was good and the prospects of the intellectual and cultural circles were bright, the cultural discussion also surged higher; when reform faced some setbacks and the intellectuals became helpless in front of the surging commodity economy, the cultural discussion also cooled down and was shrouded by a pessimistic and disappointed atmosphere. All this showed that the superficial vehemence of the cultural discussion concealed one of its major weak points: The masses who are far away from the intellectual elite and the urban life are still apathetic and indifferent. Although the television series *River Elegy* aroused a certain degree of excitement and played a certain role in popularization, the general public's reactions to the cultural discussion, as well as toward the entire culture, were just a kind of ecstasy and rashness, and there was a lack of rational meditation.

Second, there was a nonpractical tendency in the cultural discussion, and this eventually turned the cultural discussion into some romantic imaginations of modernization among some intellectuals rather than some reasonable historical steps. In the cultural discussion, there were many general opinions and viewpoints in the criticism of China's traditional culture and in the comparison of the advantages and disadvantages of the Chinese and foreign cultures. Various viewpoints only tried to justify the "ideal model" of culture in theory. Thus, the cultural discussion was dissociated from the reality and gradually moved to two extremist ends, that is, reaching some subjective and simplistic conclusions or engaging in some pedantic and overelaborate research.

Third, the cultural research was not properly combined with the actual issues in the political and economic reforms and with the efforts to improve the cultural management system and a series of institutional changes. Because the discussion was limited to the intellectual elite and because of its nonpractical character, the cultural discussion was merely a round of academic activities without connection with the reform practice. Moreover, the cultural discussion was too idealistic, and this raised the social expectations of the cultural discussion to a certain extent. However, the social mentality and

desires aroused by the cultural discussion were not in line with the actual conditions of social development. This thus gave a strong sense of frustration to the society. The frustration made people more anxious for changing the political and economic realities and narrowing the gap between the theory developed through the comparative cultural studies and the material realities in their lives. A sense of political-economic participation was rapidly increased among some people, but there was still a lack of social mobility and an institutional guarantee for such participation. This will undoubtedly intensify various social contradictions and add fuel to the political and economic instability in the society. Of course, the actual social conditions should not be taken as a variable that has a direct impact on cultural development. However, the cultural discussion in recent years has aroused excessive expectations and resulted in ahead-of-time mobilization. This has had some impact on the mentality of the Chinese public and on the opinion environment of the reforms.

Fourth, the radical and emotional factors in the cultural discussion prevented this discussion from reaching a certain theoretical depth and forming a consensus of academic opinion. Both the vehement criticism of the traditional culture and the steadfast adherence to the traditional culture lacked "explanatory" and "comprehensible" dialogue in terms of modern philosophy, so there was not an atmosphere for understanding. Frequently, it was found that there were more subjective assertions than objective analysis, and conclusions were drawn before careful analyses were made. People involved in this discussion mostly stuck to and forcefully justified their own arguments, and few of them calmly studied various data and materials and carefully listened to different opinions. As a result, the cultural discussion returned to the conditions of the cultural debates in the May Fourth period: They were sharply divided between the "Chinese school" and the "Western school," and they attacked each other with strong sectarian fervor.

Now we found that the cultural discussion in recent years was stepping into its ebb. The factors caused the decline of this discussion. Apart from the objective constraints in the political, economic, and cultural management systems, the subjective reason lay in the dilemma of the cultural discussion itself. As an intellectual activity, the cultural discussion must be based on theoretical analysis and explanation and must be an exchange of rational knowledge; however, as a critical social activity, the cultural discussion must also bear certain practical and even biased tendency. In China's modern history, several rounds of cultural discussions always vacillated between these two sides. As rational-academic activity, the cultural discussion should be rigorous and profound in the theoretical aspect; but its function in social practice also requires it to get involved in some practical issues. So when people appraise the cultural discussion, they may find themselves also in such a dilemma: On the one hand, they are moved by the sensational criticism of the traditional culture in the cultural discussion, and

thus immerse themselves in deep concern about the destiny and future of the Chinese nation; on the other hand, in the rational aspect of people's meditation, they are perplexed and even vexed at the rashness, bias, radicalness, and recklessness of the cultural discussion, thus doubting and challenging the motive, significance, and value of the cultural discussion itself. People may ask whether the cultural discussion indicated that the contemporary intellectuals in China, after another round of romantic impulse for "enlightenment and national salvation," once again fell into a major utopian mire as they merely tried to transform the reality by creating the so-called elite culture and neglected or belittled the essential institutional reforms.

The Way of Cultural Construction: Solving the Contradiction Between the Neglect of Culture in the Early Stage of the Commodity Economy and the Cultural Needs in the Early Stage of Democratic Politics

To free itself from the current predicament, the cultural discussion need to find a feasible way to develop in reality, and ascertain its development orientation suited to China's contemporary reform and modernization construction.

Our cultural construction should first serve the purpose of economic construction and modernization, and this should be taken as the strategic orientation of cultural development. A society may face many cultural patterns, but it can only select one which is suited to the social structure according to the objective conditions. In a modern society with economic development and commodity-market relations as its pivot, only the culture which is suited to economic development and commodity-market relations can achieve the material foundation for its development. Other types of culture may face two fates. They may be discarded by the society; or may be adapted to the pattern which can be borne or accepted by the commodity economy. Therefore, in general, China's strategy for cultural construction should change the sequence of traditional humanities—social sciences—applied sciences (natural sciences, technology, and management science) into the sequence of applied sciences (particularly technology and management science)—social sciences (particularly economics and law)—the humanities. We should consider the development priority of the culture and assess the cultural development according to this sequence. The cultural studies and discussions should also take this as a reference so as to design a practicable cultural structure for China's modernization process. We should not continue to remain in the stage of general cultural criticism and comparison.

Secondly, cultural development should be linked with economic development and political development. Concretely speaking, it is necessary to start the reform of the cultural and ideological management system. The diverging mode of thinking in the cultural studies and discussions should be gradually converged to the reform

and the cultural structure. We should advocate the replacement of the ideological disputes with legal standards and the replacement of the ideological controversies, appeals, and other traditional forms of self-protection methods used by the intellectuals with the legal guarantees for speeches, the press, and journalism.

In addition, it is necessary to work out the short-term, intermediate-term, and long-term objectives for China's cultural development, and take this as a basic research project in cultural construction. Cultural development and construction should take the short-term, intermediate-term, and long-term objectives of economic and political development as its standards and reference. Only thus can it ascertain its practicable level at different levels and in different periods. A major defect of the cultural discussion in recent years was the neglect of the concrete operating mechanisms in various stages of cultural development. A modern society will have an integration tendency in the political, economic, and cultural fields. This integration tendency requires us to bring the cultural discussion into line with a "rational" (in Weber's terms) thinking system according to international convention and the usual practice in a modern society. In China's modernization process, cultural development will show its short-term, intermediate-term, and long-term tendencies and characteristics. In the near future, only the part of culture which is suited to the elementary form of the commodity economy will develop; in the farther future, a higher form of culture will appear; and in the far future, we will see the development of a rich and diverse culture in a modern society. With this vision, we will be calm and lenient toward the current conditions of cultural development. At present, we should do our best to restrain ourselves from romantic nostalgia for the pre-modernization culture and also from unrealistic yearning for the post-modernization culture.

In short, cultural construction is a very complicated task. In particular, how should cultural construction under China's present conditions be coordinated with the commercialization tendency in economic development and the democratization tendency in political development? This remains a very difficult question in reality. If we say that China's cultural construction and development before the founding of the new China were faced with the dilemma of "enlightenment and national salvation," then cultural development after the founding of the new China, especially in the present stage, must face the contradiction between the neglect of culture in the early stage of the commodity economy and the ardent needs for culture in the early stage of political democratization. How to handle this contradiction will be a major issue in China's cultural development, and this will also be a major task for the cultural discussion if it will continue to develop in depth. In this sense, China's cultural studies and discussions will still have to go a very long way, and the cultural discussion will find its outlet. The cultural discussion came from China's social reality; the cultural predicament came from China's social reality;

the hopes for cultural development are also pinned on China's social reality. We cannot help but ask: After the cultural discussion quietly made contributions to and even made sacrifice for the advance of China's social reality, why should China's social reality, especially China's political reality, not take a few sincere and forceful steps ahead for China's cultural development?

Multinational Corporations and 'Post-Imperialism'—Exploring the Problems of Postwar Development in Third World Countries

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[Article by Chen Yijun 7115 0001 4596]

The era that followed the Second World War saw the decline of colonial-imperial structures that existed in the past. A great many newly independent countries, having rid themselves of the control of Western Powers, were faced with the problem of finding a way to rejuvenate their economies, eliminate poverty, and launch their economies on the path of real autonomous development; of finding a way to make political democracy and social progress a reality, to achieve the ideal of social justice and equality; and to build relationships with the rest of the world and to reaffirm their status in the global system. All this has become a lively research topic for postwar social scientists. This kind of research gradually evolved into a new interdisciplinary academic field, which by the 1960's had come to be known as "development science," the study of development. Its subject-matters are the political, economic, social, and cultural development of the relatively poor, backward World countries, and it concentrates on exploring the theory and practice of modernization for these countries.

Many schools of thought have made their appearance since the rise of the study of development. Two sharply contrasting schools can be distinguished according to their viewpoints: the "internal origin" thesis represented by its "modernization theory," and the "external origin" thesis typified by its "dependence theory." The former lays stress on the restraints on the Third World countries' development by their own internal factors in the transforming process from "traditional society" to "modernized society." These internal factors, as traditional barriers, will have to be blasted open through the acceptance of western value concepts, ethical thoughts, science and technology—that is if these countries are to be launched on a path similar to developed countries'. The latter puts the emphasis on the colonial-imperialistic conquests and plunders of the Third World countries as the major reasons for their backwardness. It considers "dependence" a still common characteristic in the postwar development of the Third World countries, pointing out that as these countries have different starting points and a special international environments, it will be impossible for them to retread the historical path of advanced Western countries.

From the works of some representative scholars, it is easy to perceive the western liberal view in the "modernization theory," which is obviously tainted with "West-centered ideology." "Modernization theory" is based on the "classical" social and political theories of Durkheim and Weber, nearly the whole of which are theoretical summation of the transformation of West European society from the "peasant" to "industrial" periods. As such, they do not carry global, universal significance. In the 1950's and 1960's, some of the Third World countries designed certain modernization strategies modelled on the theories of the western liberal school. On neither the economic nor the social planes did they achieve any success, and the apparent "economic growth" and "sham prosperity" made possible by abnormal consumption, under which were hidden social and political contradictions, has prompted the political and academic sectors in these Third world countries to reflect.

In the early 1970's, a group of Latin American scholars attracted serious attention from academic sectors when they criticized the "modernization theory" by putting forward their "dependence theory," which explores the various manifestations of "underdevelopment" taking an international perspective of the modernization of the Third World countries. And "neo-colonialism" and "post-capitalism" theses, developed on the basis of "dependence theory," have made profound structural analyses on the contemporary capitalist powers-dictated global pattern. All these theories were aimed at the reality of the postwar development in the Third World states. Some of these were based on field research on some African or Latin American states, and as such distinguished themselves from the "modernization theories," which only took their models from the progress of advanced western countries. Every one of these "dependence" theories have strong points. But one deserving special attention is studies by some western neo-marxist scholars, who, based on Marx's analyses of the exploitative nature of capitalism and the process of expansion by imperialism as interpreted by Lenin, probe the origins of the Third World countries' political, economic, social and cultural contradictions. Their analyses of the global impacts of multinational corporations are thought-provoking.

"Dependence theory," (or "underdeveloped theory") aims itself at the development of Latin American countries following their de-colonization. "Dependence" theorists argue that underdevelopment in the Third World is a "post-occurrence," not an innate process. As a result of European colonial expansion, many conquered countries were forced to join the global, capitalistic "international economic grand circle," and a "center-periphery" pattern was formed, with the "periphery" conditioned and exploited by the "center." The surplus value of the "peripheral" resources was continuously piped to the "center," and the "peripheral" countries themselves were made a victim of the expansion of global capitalism as they plunged irreversibly into a dependent state. Some

of the "peripheral" states did have a brief spell of economic prosperity by exporting primary products, or acquired the so-called "chain dependent-development" in which industrialization was successfully advanced with the help of foreign capital. But not every peripheral region had this kind of opportunity for industrialization. Moreover, when the "center" is caught in great upheavals and its economy is suffering from recession, or its demands for primary products are reduced, "peripheral" states will find themselves doubly punished and thrown into dire straits. The "chain dependent-development" is vulnerable, risky, and likely to incur very high social and economic costs.

As pointed out by Latin American scholar T.D. Santos, the "surplus" resources, labor force, and production of the dependent states will be transferred in one form or another to advanced "suzerain states," and this unequal relationship will have a direct impact on the society, economy, and political structure of a "dependent state." Santos distinguished three kinds of dependence: one, complete colonial dependence; two, financial and industrial dependence; and three, dependence through chains of multinational corporations. Of these three, the last one will severely restrict the indigenous development of the internal market of a dependent state and, moreover, foster a kind of corrupt, absolute political power. When multinational finances are politically and economically allied with the feudalistic powers of dependent countries, the populace can hardly breathe under their suppression; and out of this dependent relationship, in Santos's opinion, is born underdevelopment, which will keep generating itself in a worsening way. It has been predicted by Santos that Latin-america's long-term social contradictions and political conflicts generated by its dependence will either lead to the establishment of fascist military dictatorships by the conservatives, or will edge the radicals toward building a popular revolutionary government with a socialist tendency. As a matter of fact, instances in which the military regained government power did appear in some of the Latin American states, and on the other hand there have been attempts at socialist reforms. However, the pattern of dependence has been left basically untouched.

Between the two extremes of development and underdevelopment, as pointed out by M. M. Hoogeville [5170 2706 4850 1422], a British neo-Marxist, the infiltration of capitalism has an economic, social, political as well as cultural influence on underdeveloped countries. Apart from such problems as unemployment and unequal distribution, the individualistic spending mentality promoted by a capitalistic developmental structure has spread gradually from the upper class to the other social classes in underdeveloped states. Along with the imports of technology and capital, multinational corporations have brought in vast numbers of consumption advertisements, which have greatly enhanced the "demonstration effects" of consumerism. The stimulation and proliferation of a spending mentality will greatly hamper the

efforts of underdeveloped states to implement the priority social goals—that is eliminating poverty, reducing unemployment, and effecting equal distribution in society. If economic surplus is used to pay the extravagant spending of the power-holders and the rich, plans to develop people's welfare will be out of the question as they will inevitably affect the interests of the privileged. In some Latin American countries the following scene is a common sight: common folk in dire need of housing amidst tightly packed luxurious hotels and skyscrapers; the unemployed, who groan in agony, contrasted with the high-salaried "multinational business" employees; and while infants suffer malnutrition in slums, gourmet food, and fruits and vegetables are dumped as garbage by the rich—really a picture of "meat rots in the kitchens of the rich while on the road lie bones of the starved." Sadder still is the common folk who, under the consumption waves, are chasing after luxuries even when they are tightening their hungry bellies with their belts. Though the basic needs of the poor are yet to be guaranteed, and mentally retarded children abound because of malnutrition, big advertisements put on by Coca-Cola and lipstick corporations on television have lured the poor to spend the last money in their hands on luxuries. A scholar who has done research in cities such as Mexico, Cairo, and Bombay remarked with a sigh: "The extent to which the Third World is obsessed with Western goods is puzzling. So easily have multinational corporations taken control of people's consumption will, that the consequence will be fatal." Although there are still many debates on "precocious consumption," a general situation in the underdeveloped, Third World countries is that seasonal and non-productive consumption by the upper social class and the poor masses alike, depletes the capital power that should otherwise have gone into savings and investment.

The view of "neo-colonialism" is basically akin to that of "dependence" theory. It observes, that to control underdeveloped countries, foreign powers need no longer resort to military intervention, nor is it necessary for them to exert direct political control, for the economic and cultural infiltration of multinational corporations is itself the most effective means. The procreation of multinational corporations is the hallmark of neo-colonialism. By economically controlling the raw materials and labor force of Third World countries, and with their worldwide business networks, multinational corporations are able to take command of the entire production-to-sales process. In this sense therefore, these corporations signal an increasing capital concentration on a global scale and a production tendency toward an integral whole. After the savage, cannibalistic struggles among these corporations, the global political and economic maps were redrawn. One can never underestimate the power of multinational corporations. According to N. Gale [2706 1422], a British scholar, an increasing number of production groups in the world are coming under the control of a few hundred multinational corporations, and by the end of the 20th century, over two

thirds of global fixed assets will have come into possession by about 400 of these corporations. Another expert on Latin American, P. Evans, pointed out that multinational corporations have every reason to persuade the consumers in the "peripheral" regions to imitate the lifestyles of the "center." The wider the concepts of consumption and the products of these corporations spread, the more profits they will earn. The markets for their commodities come first from the upper strata of the Third World countries. This upper-level "elite" seeks not only a standard of living similar to their foreign counterparts, but they try hard to stay close to them culturally. They ally themselves with foreign capitalists and merchants, virtually forming a "transnational" group. Economically, politically, and culturally, they are sharply alienated from their fellow countrymen.

The "post-imperialism" theory was first put forward by American political scientist R. L. Skalye [2448 0344 2139 1422]. There is no basic difference between this theory and neo-colonialism, except that the former gives more emphasis to class relationship analysis. He wrote a book called *Post-Imperialism—An Analysis of Classes in the Joint Expansions of Multinational Corporations*, as a result of his many years of research on African and Latin American countries. His theory of post-imperialism lay bare the phenomena of class polarization and class re-integration that have gone beyond national boundaries. Post-imperialism, he pointed out, represents a new stage in the evolvement of capitalism, in which the transnational bourgeoisie acquire worldwide ruling power. One of the results in the process of "integrating" the global economy by multinational corporations, is the creation of an "international bourgeoisie"—a process continuing at the present time. Members of this class cooperate with each other for common interests. Particularly noticeable in this class is the high-level transnational talent who staff firms, governments, and international organizations. Generally highly educated, an expert in a certain field, and with very high income for some of them, these people are the managers, economists, lawyers, engineers, and intelligence experts, whose chief trait is a great zeal to work for the global expansion of transnational capital, with the national interests of their own countries in second consideration. Conveniently mobile, multi-lingual, well-adapted to high pressure in highly intense and changeable work environments, this group of people have similar experiences and educational backgrounds, sharing similar weltanschauungs [world outlook], value standards, and life goals. As contemporary imperialistic powers can no longer count on their military strength to conquer any one of the "peripheral" states, they have to rely on rulers of the host countries to self-willingly offer, and help safeguard the markets and investment environments for them. Multinational corporations, therefore, must form a special and friendly alliance with the rulers of the host countries and they will, so to speak, "stick together through weal or woe" with the rulers. In the age of "post-imperialism," the chief guarantees for capital entry into the "peripheries" are ideology and political

means. Multinational corporations work hard to placate the collaborators in host countries, trying to convince them that no contradictions exist between international and local capitals, that their interests are mutual, between them there can be very good cooperation, that it is entirely possible for multinational capitalists to become a "good citizen" in the host countries, for they can take any one corner of the world as their home, and they will abide by the local customs, observe the laws there, and so on. Skalye argued that only an analysis of the international bourgeoisie can reveal the rule, exploitations, and hegemony of post-imperialism; and though the dependence theorists mentioned earlier take note of the different development in different countries and have concentrated on probing the "center-periphery" relationships, they overlook the alliance of "transnational bourgeoisie," and the resultant internationalization of class structures.

The concept of "post-imperialism" seems to be more convincing than other theories in the analysis of the economic, political social, cultural and various other aspects of certain developing countries.

In the stage of "post-imperialism," multinational corporations have become an international monopolistic power symbolizing hegemony. Increasingly huge amounts of capital are concentrated in their hands, whose economic muscles can match the gross national products of many a country. They are able to shake off state control, having not the slightest worry of bankruptcy even when caught in a local economic crisis. As a result of their activities, international divisions of labor have been further specialized and "rationalized": the "central" advanced capitalist states gradually become laboratories, control panels and financial centers, with the "peripheral" regions specializing in production; in particular those that are energy-consuming, labor-intensive, and pollute the environment, have rapidly shifted to "peripheral" states. Moreover, the "peripheral" market has to "underwrite" vast amounts of new products and are obliged to "digest" either outdated or residual commodities in the "central" countries. Everywhere the multinational corporations go, the economic order changes, and the class structures, political relationships, social lifestyles and cultural modes also undergo quiet change. This situation is most obvious in those "peripheral" large cities in which multinational corporations concentrate. There, the upper ruling classes are the first to get the "flakes of cream" from the multinational corporations. A group of economic managerial talents and "elite" technologists also receive rewards either through their partnership with, or joining the operations of, multinational corporations. Some of them are directly employed by "sole-capital" enterprises, and some obtain a position in "joint-capital" firms. Another phenomenon deserving notice is the erosion by these corporations of the upper social classes, and also the breaking up of working classes, in the concerned society. Because multinational corporations in some "peripheral" states directly control the production sector, a large number of technical and administrative staff, production workers and even sundry duty men without any specialties are absorbed in the employment by "joint-capital" or "sole-capital" enterprises. This

group of labor, who have joined the "transnational society," enjoy better incomes than their local counterparts and better working conditions, and gradually their lifestyles changes. But people who have this kind of opportunity account for only a small portion in the populations of "peripheral" regions, while the rest go without the benefits of multinational corporations and become what is called "peripheral masses."

If we analyse the class relationships in the post-imperialism era with a class viewpoint, there seems to be this explanation: viewed globally, there is the distinction between the international bourgeoisie and international proletariat; and within a nation state there is a gap between the "transnational society" and "peripheral society." Within the "transnational society" there are again distinctions between classes and strata. There are obvious income disparities, and differences of status and grades, between the managerial, administrative personnel, and ordinary workers.

As a result of the expansion of transnational bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie of the "peripheral" states is suppressed and becomes impotent. These national bourgeoisie are incapable of taking on the historical mission of industrialization of their countries. They are without energy and have no creative spirit, and so must rely on foreign capital or bow to their bureaucratic governments. A new and increasingly obvious "bureaucrat-comprador group" is on the rise, in which national bourgeoisie, government bureaucrats, and elite technologists cooperate closely with multinational corporations. As agents for the international bourgeoisie, they hold the economic and political life pulse of "peripheral" states in their hands. And the major dynamic causes of political and social turmoil there, often have to do with the contradictions between this group and the masses of poor people. In this kind of turmoil, naturally the state will stop at nothing in resorting to suppression of the local masses. For it has not only its own interests, but the security of transnational capitals to protect. In this situation, political democracy is absolutely out of the question.

Culturally, a kind of "cosmopolitan culture" is taking shape. "Transnational communities" in some large cities are the "window display" of this kind of culture. The population of a "transnational community" come from different countries. It has similar value concepts, norms of thinking, and patterns of behavior, all of which are reflected not only on the "imitation" of its costumes, music and lifestyles, but on the "convergence" of its social organizations, religious activities, marital patterns, human relationships, educations and so on. The shaping and spread of "cosmopolitan culture" are particularly fast in certain "special zones" or "takeoff lands" that appear in some Third World countries. There the transnational powers have built their "second homes," in which fashionable western cultures and picturesque native culture co-exist. Different nationals and

diversified cultures make up a colorful "transnational world," intoxicating the people there and standing out as an allure for the population in the "interior." Obviously, the population in the "transnational community" is divided into two classes: the free-spending upper classes are well served, and the lowly population tired out from making a living: prostitutes lining up with beggars, and casinos standing next to the pawnbrokers.

"Transnation" is a very useful concept in the study of Third World's social structures and class relationships. It is capable of explaining why economic growth in certain poor countries is concurrent with an obvious class polarization; and why multinational "integration" coexists with "disintegration" in local countries. Furthermore, the concept contributes to an understanding of the movement of new class divisions, that is, in the transnational process, a part of the bourgeoisie, petite bourgeoisie and working class in the poor countries is "integrated" into the international system, and another falls in the "peripheral" society. There is thus a need to redefine and explore the class contradictions in the post-imperialism era.

The modernization strategy of our country was launched against the international background of an all-front transnational capital expansion. The open policy, as an integral part in the modernization strategy, answers to the needs of our nation. It also corresponds to the interests of transnational capital. Of course, at present the influences of multinational corporations in our country's economy, society, politics, and cultural life have just begun. If we uphold the policy of self-decision, carry out protection policies, and implement appropriate, suitable laws, we can to a certain extent limit [xian zhi 7098 0455] the activities of foreign investors and operators. However, the many years of experience and astuteness of multinational corporations, and our lack of experience, after all have led, or are leading, to some bad results. In this respect, the mode of operations and the development tendency of the multinational corporations in our country call for close attention by us. Studies in multinational corporations and the characteristics of "post-imperialism" by overseas academic circles are also worth our reference.

Price Control in West Germany

Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 89 pp 39-43

[Article by Ling Jing Chen; not translated]

Does the Problem of 'Consumption Inflation' Not Exist in Our Country?

HK0505061789 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 89 pp 43-44

[Excerpts by Zheng Zhixiao 6774 1807 2556 from article carried in JINGJI XUE ZHOU BAO 26 Mar 89]

[Text] A correct analysis of the cause of inflation in gross demand, that is, whether it is investment inflation or consumption inflation, or both, is a basic problem related

to whether or not we can correctly judge the economic situation and offer an appropriate counter measure to "handle and improve" it. At present, many comrades believe that since the accumulation rate in our country has always been a high one, investment inflation is the first and foremost factor leading to inflation in demand. Recently Shi Xiaomin [4258 1420 2404] wrote an article and pointed out that this conclusion was incorrect.

First, there is a great discrepancy between the accumulation rate announced by the state statistical bureau and the actual economic situation. For example, in the statistics on 1987 national income, an amount of at least 60 billion yuan was "missing or deleted," (tax evasion, wrongful recording of production cost, hiding of actual output and dividing the spoils). The great proportion of it went into the consumption sector.

Again, at present our country has not entered the amount of rational house rent (be it house rent computed on a low standard) into the consumption account. This portion amounts to roughly 85 billion yuan each year. In addition, each year depreciation of publicly-owned houses in cities and towns amounting to about 12.6 billion yuan should be entered into the consumption account. Of the houses, on those owned by the public organs which occupy about 30 percent of the total building area no provision is made for depreciation (about 5 billion yuan) and this 5 billion yuan is generally not deducted from the accumulation amount of the year.

Furthermore, from 1978 to 1987, the prices of investment goods in our country rose more rapidly than those of consumer goods, but in our computation of the accumulation rate, we did not eliminate the factors of these comparative prices and only followed the estimates made by the state statistical bureau. From 1979 to 1987, the general price level of our country's consumer goods rose 60 percent but the general level of the ex-factory prices of the means of production in industry rose 100 percent. In reality, since 1986, the C.I.F.-factory prices of industrial means of production rose much higher than the ex-factory prices whereas the determinant of the prices of investment goods is the C.I.F.-factory prices of the means of production. Hence, in our belief, it would be nearer to the factual condition if we take the scale of the rise in the general level of prices of investment goods from 1979 to 1987 to be 120 percent. This is to say, the real accumulation amount computed on the basis of static prices would be much smaller than the current declared amount.

If full consideration is given to the above-mentioned factors, then the 1987 accumulation amount, compared with that before 1978, was only 23 percent while the corresponding consumption rate should be higher by around 11 percent over the figure provided by the state statistical bureau.

Some comrades have the feeling that at the moment the whole country is like a big working site. How then is it possible to say that the accumulation rate is a low one? In reality, this is a wrong impression caused by changes in the investment structure. In the past the investment projects were mostly placed on mountainous terrain and in outland areas; mostly big projects. Now the investment projects are principally located in the cities and towns, mostly small projects, and this gives the impression that building and working sites are found everywhere.

Again, what makes people more concerned is that since 1984 the appalling situation of the national economy spending in anticipation of income has appeared.

First, "eating into the principal capital." There has been a total reduction of over 70 billion yuan in the state's foreign exchange reserves, various materials in stock and gold reserves, all of which ordinarily are deducted when computing the accumulation rate. In addition, the loss and consumption in material resources was at least 315 billion yuan while the uncompensated losses and depreciation in the state's fixed assets amounted roughly to 90 to 180 billion yuan.

Second, "unfilled gaps." Estimating only the investment gaps in railroad transportation, electric power, water resources construction, and prevention of environmental pollution, they amounted to 130-160 billion yuan.

Third, "intensified or enlarged indebtedness." In recent years the increase in foreign indebtedness and domestic loans amounted to over 150 billion yuan.

Regarding the above-mentioned points, it is found that the amount of items not comprehended in the computation of accumulation rate approximated to roughly 700-800 billion yuan, and it should further be pointed out that these estimates could be even lower than the actual figures, because, basically the investment gaps not counted in included those in agriculture, education, iron and steel, petro-chemicals, non ferrous metals, and so forth while the figure for foreign debts was computed at the official foreign exchange rate. Besides, the above estimates stopped short at conditions in 1987, whereas since 1988 the situation of eating into capital, unfilling of gaps, and incurring more indebtedness has been further aggravated. This will inevitably have injurious effects on the long-term economic development of our country.

The above analysis, though not one hundred percent correct, is still relatively speaking, nearer to reality. Based on this, we can make the following conclusions:

First, for the current inflation in gross demand in our country, the principal cause is consumption inflation and not investment inflation. Even though regarding the production capacity of energy and raw materials at present, the annual scales in fixed assets appear to have

become larger, this is the principal result of the too heavy inclination in recent years of investments to the light and textile industries and certain "non-productive" facilities of excessively high standard. Thus, in essence, this is a problem of the investment structure and not one of the gross volume in investment.

Second, even though from now on each year a large portion of the accumulations will be spent on "filling the gaps," "debt repayment," and "nurturing and adding to the capital," the completion of such readjustment tasks will take at least 3 to 5 years. Hence, we should by no means make a low estimate of the difficult nature of the readjustment tasks.

Third, at present, for the sake of rapidly depressing the trend of inflation of gross demand and stabilizing commodity prices, it is necessary to appropriately cut down the scale of the investments in fixed assets for a short period. However, we should by no means take this as the major point in retrenchment or compression; rather, from now on, we should make a strong resolution to stop the trend of consumption inflation.

A Picture Captioned 'Gentleman on the Beam'
*HK1005073189 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 89 p 45*

[Article by Yi Yunwen 2496 6663 2429]

[Text] The "gentleman on the beam" under discussion here does not belong to that breed of people who make their living picking pockets. I refer here to one of those impractical chaps who indulges in empty talks and prefers to "move their lips rather than their limbs." If I must paint a picture of such a gentleman, he would most certainly be depicted as a person dangling in midair, like a floating duckweed or a reed on the wall. This picture of captioned "gentleman on the beam" reminds me of certain comments made by people in other parts of the world about some of our Chinese folks. For example, it is said that the Americans do what they say, the Japanese act first before saying anything, the Germans will not say anything even afterwards, but the Chinese will do nothing after much talking.

"Doing nothing after much talking" is the same as empty talks but no real action. Some Chinese who pride themselves as "the most industrious and the bravest of all peoples in the world" will naturally find such a remark very insulting. "We Chinese always mean what we say!" It seems that nothing short of this proud statement can truly illustrate the shining image of the true Chinese. However, if we would calm ourselves and take a close look at history and the present goings-on, we will agree that it is by no means unfair to say that some Chinese can rightly be classified as people who "do nothing after much talking." Through the past millennia the Chinese have come to evaluate people with the criterion that if a person makes his living moving lips he must be much

sought after, capable and dignified. He must be a "gentleman." If a person makes his living moving his limbs, he must be base and vulgar. He must be a "lowly person." "The gentleman rules over the lowly, the lowly serves the gentleman." The gentleman who moves his lips is noble, the lowly who moves his limbs is base. That was what the sages taught us. That is also why some Chinese not only do not feel the least ashamed about "not being able to use their four limbs or tell the five grains apart," but think that this is what a "noble" person should be like.

Garbage piled up in the corridor of a certain university dormitory. In the summer heat it gave out an unbearable stench. Every student who walked past it would cover his or her nose and curse: "Who the hell left the garbage there? It really stinks!" After 20, 30 days, at least 500 students must have walked past this garbage pile, but all you ever heard was people "moving their lips" in angry exasperation. No one bothered to lift his or her finger. This is perhaps the best illustration of the "gentleman on the beam" who "moves his lips rather than his limbs."

A natural development of "moving one's lips rather than one's limbs" is not to move one's lips at all. All that needs to be done is to have the oft-chanted slogans written down on paper and mounted on the wall. This must be one of China's greatest inventions. Every time I walked into a shop, hotel or restaurant in Beijing and saw written on the walls the ten rules of "decorum and courtesy," and then saw the shop attendants sitting cross-legged behind their counter or standing in groups of twos or threes chatting, or losing their patience if the clientele dared so much as to ask more than two questions, I would think what a sarcastic picture the slogans on the walls and the people under the slogans presented.

I remember a wise man once said: Worship makes the best propaganda and publicity. Because the Chinese worship those who make their living moving their lips and look down on those who do so by moving their limbs, they are becoming more and more adept at moving their lips and poorer and poorer in the functions of their limbs. They may be shaking the whole world with their slogans and beating their chests in righteous indignation, but when it comes to moving their limbs, they are so "smooth and silky" you can hardly see their movements. There are things they talk about when they "move their lips" on the platform, but once off the platform, they cannot muster enough strength to turn away "little somethings" that "do not amount to much." When a person first takes up office he will probably say: "If an official does not back the people up, he might as well go home and sell potatoes." Once he is firmly secured at his post, however, he will say "I will look into it" every time his subordinates or the masses go to him with their complaints or problems. It is very unlikely that he will do anything about their problems.

Recently I came across a couplet in one of the newspapers. As it complements very well with this picture of a "gentleman on the beam," I would like to share this with

the readers. It goes like this: "Meetings today, meetings tomorrow, meetings everyday. You talk, he talks, everybody talks." The caption was: Who does the work?

Many of China's problems spring from the fact that there are too many meetings and too many people doing the talking, but too few doing the actual work. What will the habit of "moving one's lips rather than one's limbs" lead us to? In the Beijing area there is a popular folk song. Its lyrics go like this: "900 million out of the 1,000 million people are talkers; the remaining 100 million are being trained." If you merely shrug your shoulder and call this Beijing people's humor, you are terribly wrong. Anyone can feel the bitterness and anxiety behind these words.

Nontechnical Factors of Wang Baoshan's Debut
*HK1005065389 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 89 p 46*

[Article by Shang Ziyong 0794 1311 7167]

[Text] Although I am a big football fan, I do not dare comment on the success or failure of the Chinese Football Team, much less write a commentary on them, because the team's performance may range from excellent to downright poor. In the last Asian Cup tournament, for example, they did a really good job in the first match, beating the Syrian team three-nil, but during the tie-breaking goal-kicks in the last match against Iran, they missed three shots, to the great disbelief to their fans.

Although the performance of the Chinese team left much to be desired, striker Wang Baoshan [3769 1405 1472] made a fine debut in Qatar. As a reserve, he was picked for the main team and his showing was so good during the tournament that he was later selected as one of Asia's best players, much to the surprise and delight of football fans. On the other hand, would Wang Baoshan the reserve player be upgraded to the status of a regular player and given the opportunity to play in all seven matches of the tournament if the Chinese team's long-serving center-forward Liu Haiguang [2692 3189 0342] had been able to return from Yugoslavia for the Cup matches? I do not think this very likely, judging from what is the customary practice in China. My delight suddenly melted into thin air and I could not help letting out a long sigh. Alas, so reserve striker Wang Baoshan was able to make his debut in Qatar due to a non-technical factor; that is, Liu Haiguang was unable to return to the team. One cannot but feel a little saddened.

Whether one is a little saddened or very much saddened is of no consequence. The important thing is that Wang Baoshan could make his debut. What about Shi Lianzhi [2457 6647 1807]? I read in the papers that he was indeed an excellent goalkeeper. However, I had watched all seven televised matches but did not even know what he looks like, whether he is tall or short, fat or thin, round-faced or lean-faced, to say nothing about his performance between the two goal poles. It thus seemed quite plain that Shi Lianzhi, the Chinese team's reserve goalkeeper, would have to wait until the chief goalkeeper

Zhang Huikang [1728 1920 1660] was knocked unconscious on the soccer field before he could make his debut. However, no major mishap had happened to Zhang Huikang. This is of course very fortunate for Zhang, and for the Chinese team of which Shi Lianzhi is a member. On the other hand, this is also very unfortunate for Shi Lianzhi (after all, he lost a very precious opportunity of tempering himself in a real international match), as well as for the Chinese team of which Zhang Huikang is a member. The team is bound to suffer in the long run if it does not give its new blood an opportunity to temper themselves.

Wang Baoshan was able to make his debut in Qatar due to a nontechnical factor, while Shi Lianzhi had to sit on the side line throughout the tournament because of the absence of this nontechnical factor. I have no intention whatsoever of blaming the manager and coach of the Chinese Football Team. After all, the pressure felt by newcomers in the presence of oldtimers, by young people in the presence of old people and by newly qualified in the presence of those who have much experience is very natural and of course is not strictly confined to the soccer field. Compared to the other fields, the situation is by far better in competitive sports because there are more concrete and clearly defined standards by which to distinguish between the strong and the weak and to decide who is the winner. In competitions in all realms of our everyday life, there is of course no reason why we should not respect the ability and achievements of those who have gone before us. However, if we do not intend to ignore the future of our state and our nation, if we wish to see our future generations advance wave upon wave, we must give the latecomers an opportunity to compete on a completely equal footing. We must let the newcomers show their talent as quickly as possible and help them promptly take up their position in society by relying completely (or at least primarily) on their own ability rather than by availing themselves of a fortuitous opportunity. Only a society such as this will be sufficiently vibrant.

Just think of the fortunate Wang Baoshan and the unfortunate Shi Lianzhi. While it is to be regretted that Shi had to sit on the side line throughout the tournament, there is no reason why we should feel happy because Wang was finally able to make his debut. Outside the soccer world there are numerous middle-aged and young people who are in the same predicament as Shi Lianzhi and cannot find any way out. The reality of reform has generated this urgent appeal: We should as quickly as possible improve the way in which we foster and train our talent.

The Strength of Tragedy While Value Is Being Destroyed—Viewing the Teleplay 'Yuan Chonghuan'
HK1005065789 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 89 p 47

[Article by Xu Hong 1776 1347]

[Text] Tragic death often highlights the extraordinary value of life. Like *Dream of the Red Chamber* and *Death of Qiuhai*, the teleplay "Yuan Chonghuan" [5913 1504

3562] is also a masterpiece which explores the meaning of life and shows the value of existence. The key characters of these plays touch people in a profound and soul-stirring way, as if in them are congealed the history and feelings of a whole nation.

If we say that the rounded image of Nurhaci emerges from the acute and complex clan conflicts and the intense and cruel national struggles, then it can also be said that the well-developed image of Yuan Chonghuan is formed through self-reproach and self-reassessment focussed on complex social contradictions of the time. Yan Chongnian [7051 1504 1628], researcher of Beijing History Institute, made the following observation in his book *On Yuan Chonghuan*: "The death of Yuan Chonghuan has its historical fortuity as well as its historical inevitability. The plot devised by the Manchu lord against him was the fortuitous cause of his death, while the fact that all social contradictions in the early days of the Chengzheng reign focused on him was the inevitable cause of his death." With the aesthetic discerning eye of a historical materialist, the teleplay "Yuan Chonghuan" profoundly and vividly depicts the malice directed at Yuan Chonghuan by his colleagues from various factions, the false charges leveled against him by the court nobilities, the plot devised against him by the late Jin tribes and the folly of the Chongzheng court. The play shows in a vivid and ingenious way how Yuan Chonghuan argued his case, volunteered his service in an hour of danger, led an army to ward off the enemy beyond the Shanhai Pass, intimidated the enemy generals with his military prowess, and scored a resounding victory. At the same time, it also unveils the tragic plot that he will eventually be reprimanded by the emperor, thrown into prison under false charges and destined to destruction. This is what gives the play its soul-stirring impact and beauty. As Ma-ke-si De-suo [3854 0344 2448 1795 4792] pointed out in his exposition on the essential functions of tragedy: "Because we have experienced the destruction of a value with the greatest shock, we are profoundly aware of its truth."

However, the tragic strength of "Yuan Chonghuan" does not only lie in the tragic fate of a hero whose patriotism was rewarded by death. To a larger extent, it comes from a new awakening in our concept of tragedy. The splitting of the world of self-value constructed by the director in the play has added new tension to the play. With his own finite life, Yuan Chonghuan had built up his own world of value. In his own words, "why should I shun death when I have lived a life of justice and earned my scholarly fame and honor?" However, this world of value is pitted against his tolerance of and submission to folly and malice. "When meritorious service is at its peak it becomes a crime." "With his loyal soul unaltered, he thanks the Emperor for his great kindness." "He proceeds to the execution ground with a smile on his face, bearing no grudge against anyone." He strove to attain self-perfection in a world of traditional value. When he was dismissed from office and thrown into prison, he wrote the following sequel to a poem by the tragic hero Xiong Tingbi: "A whole life's achievements have come to naught. Fame and honor are but a dream. Although there will be no lack of brave generals after I am gone, my loyal soul will still be there

guarding eastern Liaoning." In the face of death, he expressed no desire for a force that will free his soul. Neither did he express the hope that he be pardoned so he could drag out an ignoble existence. In the depth of his soul, there resided a willing heart of dedication, an unwavering loyalty that can stand the test of time. This restrictive self-value inherent in his "accepting attitude" toward life and death is precisely the aesthetic concept of historical materialism which runs through the whole play. It shows courage on the part of the author in making a breakthrough in the traditional concept of tragedy. The play vividly portrays on the screen the riven soul of someone who dares to "offend the emperor" but who "works heart and soul for the emperor," one who dares to "transgress his power by killing the emperor's generals" and then "proceeds to the execution ground with a smile on his face," one who has "found his self" and then "lost his self." The play combines historical truth and artistic truth in a beautiful way. Kafka made the following vivid observation when he tried to distinguish the modern from the traditional concept of tragedy. He said: "On the walking stick of Balzac was inscribed the words: I am destroying all obstacles before me. On my walking stick is inscribed the words: All the obstacles before me are destroying me." In the play "Yuan Chonghuan," we see the traditional and the modern concepts of tragedy merged into one. On the one hand we see the hero who is "destroying all obstacles." On the other hand we see a wronged soul being "destroyed by all obstacles." The play not only gives people spiritual strength, it also gives people the strength to "stand up and assert oneself." It enables people to truly feel the inherent tragic elements of national subjugation.

The masterstroke of the whole play is the death scene at the ending, which is highly exaggerated for artistic effect. Making creative use of romanticist and symbolic audiovisual sequences, the director Chen Jialin [7115 1367 2651] ingeniously combines the splashing of blood with outbursts of pitiful screams as the body is being dismembered to produce a distinctive and meaningful scene. The atmosphere is high-flown and vehement, the visual and emotional impact is extraordinary. It thus seems that the tragic impact of the destruction of life lies not only in the sense of pity as life is smothered, but also in the accompanying heightened emotions as vitality bursts forth with even greater vigor. Death stimulates life and therefore creates value. This is the inherent driving force and theme of the creation of this play. The inevitable destruction of the value of life of the protagonist stimulates people's creative vitality to strive for more lofty value. Thus the impact of the tragic sense of beauty on the audience is more profound and enduring.

Sea Banquet

HK1005071189 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 89 p 48

[Article by Li Dehe 2621 1795 0735]

[Text] Riding the crest of the waves, our yacht speeds on.

Mo Yan [5459 6056] again plays the part of the brave one. Sitting proudly at the bow, his legs clasping the flag pole and two feet plowing through the waves, he looks every inch the helmsman. Last night when we went out for a stroll, we swam our way to one of the pleasure boats moored in the bay and climbed on board. As the berthed yacht rocked gently from side to side, like a cradle, Mo Yan felt giddy. Today, as the pleasure boat surges on like a runaway horse, Mo Yan is riding it with the ease of a seasoned rider.

The outing of the "Spring Wind" Pen Club for the day is a visit to the house of a fisherman, accompanied by me and Comrade Wang Jiafa [3769 1367 4099]. The yacht never had so many distinguished passengers on board, and the captain is taking twice as much care at the helm.

Heizui is a beautiful fishing village surrounded by water on three sides. The scores of households here have been fishermen for generations. Our host Shao Limin [6730 0500 2404] is a ruddy, stoutly built man in his early fifties. His movements show the roughness and easy-going temperament of an old seadog. He is a labor model of Liaoning Province. Over the past few years, he has led the people of Heizui in cultivating the blue fields of the sea and embarking on the road of prosperity.

Shao Limin is very excited to see so many gentle scholars from afar. As one of the scuba divers trained by the People's Republic, he fascinates the writers with his vivid accounts of the wonders of the ocean deep.

His wife reaps from the garden a big bundle of fresh and tender-looking maize and empties them into a big cooking pot. Shao Limin produces a huge porgy weighing at least 15 jin. He is treating us to a midday meal today. He says: "In our house, we may not be able to offer you much in terms of food, but sea slugs and abalone are not such rare delicacies to us. I have been working these seas the last 3 decades and more, and never have I seen a red porgy so big. We are going to serve you this fish as you are our most distinguished guests."

The red porgy is the rarest of the sea fish. Just one look at its golden fins is enough to fascinate anyone, to say nothing about actually relishing its flesh. The porgy head is a delicacy in itself. The head bones look just like those of a goat. Xu Duo [1776 6995], who has broken into the literary world by writing about the sea, picks up the fish head and keeps it as memento without at all concerning himself with good manners.

One by one, the gentle writers are charmed by the old seadog. A Cheng [7093 1004], Mo Yan, Zheng Wanlong [6774 8001 7127], and Song Xuewu [1345 1331 2976] all raise their glass in toast. Shao Limin is really moved by their sincerity. Plate after plate of sea food is served. Then writers and the old seadog all sit cross-legged on the heated brick-bed, chatting about everything under heaven.

Everyone says that the soup prepared from the big snake-headed fish caught fresh from the sea is the most delicious fish soup one will ever taste. It is served in big soup bowls with green Chinese onion freshly picked from the garden, a few drops of chii oil and some chopped-up coriander, and the whole household slurps it down with relish, praising it as they eat.

One by one the writers raise their glasses in toast to thank their host for his hospitality.

Zheng Wanlong, who has worked his way from the mountains and rivers of Heilongjiang to the cities invites the host to Beijing as his guest.

Shao Limin sighs with emotion and says: "Now that this place is developed into a tourist resort, it is attracting visitors from all over the country. I had no idea that writers like yourselves are so sincere. When I heard that you were coming to see me, I did not hesitate to treat you to the best sea food I can offer.... To tell the truth, fishermen of today are no longer what they were some

years ago. I never dreamed that one day I could be friends with real writers. After eating my porgy, you must write more about us fishermen."

A local folk song suddenly comes to my mind. It goes like this: There is a place called Full House Beach, where people's stomachs are never full. The people there use small bowls and cups, and they are petty in their ways. Today, as the fishermen become more and more well-to-do, they are showing a vision as broad as the sea. Two days before our visit, an actor who successfully portrayed a reformer on the screen came to this village on a tour bus. Fed up with being watched all the time, this actor refused to alight. Pity, but no fan seemed to be forthcoming. In the end, the embarrassed movie star walked down from the bus himself. Actually, it was not that the fishermen had never heard of this movie star before. As they said, if we had the time to spare, we would make another trip to the sea. The movie star had underestimated the fishermen. The fishermen of Jinshitan who are bathed in the Pacific waters have already had their ideals set.

The atmosphere of the sea banquet is as jolly as ever, and the writers are feeling a little high.